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# THE BASUTOS







BUSHMAN'S PASS.

*[Frontispiece, Vol. II.]*

# THE BASUTOS

*THE MOUNTAINEERS & THEIR COUNTRY*

BEING A NARRATIVE OF EVENTS RELATING TO  
THE TRIBE FROM ITS FORMATION EARLY IN THE  
NINETEENTH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

SIR GODFREY LAGDEN, K.C.M.G.

Formerly Resident Commissioner in Basutoland

WITH 70 ILLUSTRATIONS AND 9 MAPS



*Mosheh  
Seal*

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II

London    ☉    ☉    HUTCHINSON & CO.  
PATERNOSTER ROW    ☉    ☉    1909



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TRANSVAAL BASUTOS.



# THE BASUTOS

## CHAPTER XVIII

My soul is up in arms, ready to charge  
And bear amidst the foe, with conquering troops.

CONGREVE.

The Basuto receive summary notice to quit in terms of Award: much excitement ensues. In consequence of raids and outrages by Ramanella who also invades Natal, President Brand takes the field to punish him: Masupha atrociously murders the Bastards. Ultimatum and war. Free State forces invest and storm Thaba Bosigo but are repulsed. Death of the gallant Wepener. An Armistice proposed by Moshesh

1864—1865

IN spite of his somewhat gloomy forebodings referred to in the last chapter, Sir Philip Wodehouse was by no means dissatisfied with the result of his labours. Like his predecessors, he experienced the hope that his fiat as High Commissioner would command respect and obedience; but he overlooked the fact that the final tribunals left on the spot were the rifle and assegai in the hands respectively of interested parties not on amicable terms with each other. He had said that the Award he gave, which was entirely favourable

to the Free State, imposed upon Moshesh and his subordinate chiefs the most unwelcome task of displacing large numbers of the tribe who had been suffered to establish themselves in Free State territory. Were anything wanting to kindle the embers of bitterness it was quickly furnished by summary orders for removal of those people and for the prohibition of Basuto from hunting in their old haunts. The motive of President Brand in issuing these orders, which were in strict keeping with the Award, was dictated by the knowledge that, in dealing with a savage tribe who had proved adepts at evasion, the soundest policy was to allow no latitude for demur but rather to charge home at once, trusting in a righteous cause having the sanction of authority behind it.

The Basuto were summoned to meet in National Pitso. Mr. Orpen, then at Thaba Bosigo, endeavoured to impress upon them the obligation of compliance with the Award and with the order especially to evacuate the late disputed territory. Moshesh, he said, though desperately wounded with the Governor's upbraiding letter to him, was disposed to obey ; but his people were bitterly opposed to it, clamouring for war rather than lose the land they had fought for. The Chief was strongly averse to defying the Award lest he should lose British sympathy. He therefore commanded obedience to it, but is reported to have remarked that *some other cause* for war might arise. That he was really guilty of the duplicity popularly ascribed to him of submission and then concocting plans to counteract it is not proved. It is more likely that he found it wise to let the national disappointment



find outlet through the safety-valve of expression, violent though it be, hoping to live it down.

The atmosphere was certainly well charged with electricity ; further, it was patent that the old Chief with his weight of years and cares was losing influence and controlling power. However, the Basuto over the line were positively directed to remove and did so. By so doing they placed themselves in the position of having bowed respectfully to the decision of the Queen's representative. But it meant the transfer to Basutoland where feelings ran high of hundreds of discontented people whose vagrant appearance at that moment was sure to cause additional heartburning. The Rev. Mr. Coillard in a letter<sup>1</sup> of December 5, 1864, to his Paris Committee described the scene :—

“The President of the Free State gave the Basutos a month to evacuate a portion of their country, where they had already ploughed and sown. In a country where there are neither railways nor telegraphs one may well be astonished at the rigour of such a decree, for before Moshesh knew of it, or could assemble the petty chiefs, or these latter could return home and publish the order in the most distant villages, there was very little of this month of grace left. . . . Then without providing themselves with corn for the journey, they suddenly left their villages and took refuge on this side of the Caledon. For days there was nothing but horsemen . . . troops of cattle filling

<sup>1</sup> See “Coillard of the Zambesi,” by C. W. Mackintosh : Fisher Unwin.

the air with their bellowing ; women and children seeking a hole to hide in under the rocks. . . . I saw thousands of women and children wandering shelterless and foodless in the mountains covered with snow."

It was distinctly an occasion to excite the indignation even of savages some of whom were shortly to resent it in unhappy ways.

The year 1865 to which many had hopefully looked forward soon became overcast. Whatever hopes of peace existed were dispelled by the unruly chief Ramanella, son of Makhabane, brother of Moshesh, who chose the moment when the minds of the Basuto were inflamed by the plight of the displaced refugees to break away from Moshesh and force the Free State to make a demonstration along the border in vindication of their rights. Although he had not appeared much in past history the people living under him adjacent to Winburg and Harrismith were responsible for many of the encroachments and raids complained of.

Towards the end of November 1864 he sent organized bands of his followers on pillaging expeditions in the vicinity of Bethlehem, where they destroyed farmhouses and made off with stock. In order to cope with this raiding, President Brand despatched a strong body of burghers to patrol the neighbourhood. The patrol early in December came into touch with Ramanella's brigands ; shots were exchanged and one or two people killed. The Boer Commandant then imposed a fine of seventy head of cattle on Ramanella who, instead of paying as he had promised, skirmished with the patrol and wounded two burghers. Moshesh,

upon being informed of the occurrences as they took place, expressed his regret to the President and undertook to make good the damages, but delayed in doing so.

President Brand could not be insensible to the strictures passed upon the Free State by Sir Philip Wodehouse for not having in previous years taken vigorous measures to repel invasion at the onset. He kept the patrols moving and on February 23, 1865, made a formal demand upon Moshesh :—

1. For the delivery within eight days of the fine of seventy cattle.

2. For the removal of Ramanella and his people from the border. If this demand was not complied with, the Free State washed its hands of responsibility for the consequences.

To this the Chief responded that he must be allowed more time to carry out the orders. This was granted and Mr. Harvey, the Landdrost of Smithfield, was sent to confer with him about it.

The character of the communications received by Moshesh at this time must have been most extraordinarily confusing. The President was pouring in complaints for violations, accompanied by threats. Simultaneously, Sir Philip Wodehouse writing to him on March 13 appreciated the loyalty and wisdom by which his conduct had been distinguished in the late transactions with the Free State ; he (the Governor) was sensible that obedience to his decision would entail great sacrifice on the part of the chiefs and tribe ; but the result had been most creditable

and had given the Basuto fresh claims on the friendship of the British Government. Then, shortly afterwards came a communication from the Secretary of State that Her Majesty's Government had received with pleasure this further proof of his fidelity. Though kept well informed by President Brand, the Governor seemed to be astonishingly misled as to the true state of affairs, for on March 14 he had written to England that his mediation had proved satisfactory and all fear of a collision was at an end.

Influenced possibly by these conflicting communications, Moshesh procrastinated. He would have been wiser to have disowned Ramanella and struck terror into the marauders ; by his inaction the belief gained ground that he was in league with them. President Brand exercised great patience ; but he was on trial, watched by a critical audience to see if his administration was going to be an improvement on the past. According to a letter from Mr. Burnet to the High Commissioner, Brand's course of action was not giving satisfaction, as the Boers, so often called up without doing anything, were beginning to lose faith in him. However that may be, on March 28 he sent Moshesh what was termed an Ultimatum, requiring him to fulfil the demands in his previous letter and further to punish Ramanella for his aggression on or before May 1, failing which Ramanella would be punished by the Free State.

To pay the fine demanded, Moshesh sent on April 26 fifty-eight cattle, nine horses and £4 in gold. These were rejected and returned on account of the cattle being poor, and on May 9 the President

left Bloemfontein with a commando to punish Ramanella. On May 25 they came to blows ; Ramanella with his cattle took refuge in Basutoland under the eyes of Molapo and other sons of Moshesh watching the action and who refused to surrender them in response to a Free State summons. Meanwhile some adherents of Moperi made a descent upon some farms near Bethlehem, assaulting three Boers named Van Rooyen, Pelser and Muller and taking the latter away prisoner.

Feelings on both sides were now highly strung. On June 2 the President wrote a final letter to Moshesh requiring in addition to previous demands the surrender before June 8 of all persons guilty of acts of hostility since the Award, in default of which he would consider it a Declaration of War on the part of Basutoland. As no satisfaction was afforded he issued on June 9 a Proclamation reciting the claims and grievances of the Free State and calling the burghers to arms. The material points are quoted in the following extract :—

PROCLAMATION BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE ORANGE  
FREE STATE

“Burghers of the Orange Free State ! All ye countrymen who, connected by ties of blood and friendship, are led to sympathise with us and take an interest in our welfare. The hour has arrived when it has become necessary, and even unavoidable, placing our trust in God, to take up arms for the vindication of our rights against the Basutos.

“During the course of years the Basutos have com-

mitted innumerable thefts from our fellow-burghers on the frontier. They have driven them from their lawful property ; and amongst other deeds of violence, they have rendered themselves guilty of the murder of Venter and Fouche. All this happened upon the pretext that there existed disputes about the boundary line between the Orange Free State and Basutoland. With too great a forbearance, all this had been submitted to by the inhabitants of the Orange Free State. At length we have succeeded in getting this pretended uncertainty about the boundary line finally set at rest, and our just rights clearly established through the intervention of . . . the Governor of the Cape Colony.

“On the 29th of October, 1864, His Excellency gave his judgment, which was altogether in favour of the Orange Free State. And what has now happened ? . . . After the decision of His Excellency, several houses belonging to our burghers near Bethlehem were plundered by Ramanella . . . and a large number of cattle and horses stolen. When this was communicated to Moshesh he made . . . promises which, however, have hitherto remained unfulfilled.

“Shortly after these acts . . . an attack was made upon our burghers within the territory of the Free State by that said Ramanella. Upon receiving assurances from Moshesh that he would punish him for these acts of aggression, the Government of the Free State abstained from taking those steps which it would fairly have been justified in adopting. After . . . ample opportunity had been afforded to Moshesh to comply with the reasonable demands of the Free

State Government . . . in order to leave nothing untried that could lead to an amicable adjustment, an ultimatum was submitted to Moshesh . . . in which was demanded that Ramanella should immediately be removed from the Free State; that a fine of seventy head of cattle should be paid before the 8th of April; that the cattle stolen by Ramanella and his people should be delivered up before the end of April; that Ramanella should be duly punished for firing upon our burghers within the territory of the Orange Free State, and sufficient amends made to two of our burghers for the bodily injury done to them . . . failing which Ramanella should be dealt with according to Art. II. of the Treaty of Aliwal.

“Notwithstanding all Moshesh’s repeated promises, no satisfaction was given. Instead of paying the fine of seventy head of cattle on the 8th of April . . . Moshesh . . . sent fifty-eight head of small miserable cattle, the greater part of which were young calves, and nine horses, while Ramanella still continued to live on Free State ground, and no mention whatever was made by Moshesh of the other demands made. Thus no other course remained but to punish Ramanella . . . more especially as, even in the beginning of May, he had stolen about thirty-five horses from the widow Uijs resident within the Free State. With the blessing of the Most High, Ramanella was put to flight after sustaining a loss of several killed and wounded, while on our part no one suffered any injury.

“When the Government of the Free State intimated to Moshesh that Ramanella would be dealt with

according to the Treaty, and asked him whether he was willing to respect its stipulations and act in accordance with them, what line of conduct did he pursue? He did not even deign to answer, and more, there is every reason to believe that Ramanella has, with his cattle, found safe refuge in Basutoland, and that even after Moshesh had been warned that any assistance afforded to Ramanella either directly or indirectly by him or any of his subordinate chiefs would be taken as a declaration of war on his side.

“In . . . January 1865 Tsekelo, the son of Moshesh, was sent as a deputy with an official letter to Bloemfontein. On his return journey, Tsekelo stole a large number of horses from several of our burghers. This, also, was communicated to Moshesh—and how did he act? . . . True, some of the stolen horses were returned . . . but by far the greater number of them are still in Basutoland.

“In spite of all his fair promises Moshesh gives no satisfaction, and upon the communication of the Free State Government that Tsekelo should be dealt with according to the treaty, Moshesh did not deem it worth his while to answer. The people of Poshudi, the brother of Moshesh, have committed repeated thefts. Complaints have been sent to Moshesh without obtaining any satisfaction. . . .

“But what further happened? Towards the end of the month of April, two burghers of the Free State, Van Rooyen and Pelser, were beaten and kept in custody on Free State ground by an armed party of Basutos belonging to Moperi's tribe.

“Satisfaction is demanded of Moperi, but he does



not answer. . . . Michael Muller was taken prisoner on Free State ground by another party of armed Basutos belonging to Moperi's people, and removed in custody to his town, and there kept in confinement for four days. On demand that the perpetrators of these acts of violence . . . should be handed over to the Landdrost of Winburg to be dealt with according to the laws of the Free State, and that a compensation of fifty head of cattle should be paid . . . and that if these demands should not be satisfied before sunset on Thursday, the 8th of June, a declaration of war with the State would be considered to have emanated from him, no answer was returned, while robberies and acts of violence are continued to be committed by the Basutos.

“Under these circumstances, no other course remains for us but to defend our rights by means of the sword.

“Rise, then, burghers of the Orange Free State! To arms, in the name of God, for the defence of your rights and the protection of your homesteads and property, and for the suppression of the arrogance and violence of the Basutos! Be courageous and strong, and put your trust in the Righteous Judge who hears the prayer of faith.

“And all ye fellow-countrymen who are connected with us by ties of blood and friendship, flock to our banners and fight on our side. Given under my hand . . . at Leeuwkop, on the 9th day of June 1865.

“(Signed) J. H. BRAND, State President.”

To this a counterblast was immediately issued by

Moshesh. Whether, as supposed, it was composed for him by a European, or not, it represented precisely what he had said repeatedly.

#### PROCLAMATION BY THE CHIEF MOSHESH

“ I, Moshesh, Chief of the Basutos, hereby let know to all the nations around me, that I have done my utmost to keep peace, and even now I am trying in all ways to secure it. But all I have done seems of no effect, and I do not know how I can avoid a war with my Free State neighbours, for I can see that the Free State’s earnest desire is that hostilities should begin, although they have no serious reason to commence a war ; while they exaggerate every small misunderstanding that arises between the burghers and my people, in order to justify themselves before the public if they attack me. Every one knows that for peace’ sake I consented to the Governor’s arbitration between me and the Free State about the line, and though the decision of His Excellency was wholly in favour of the Boers, yet I submitted to it entirely on account of the respect I have for the Queen of England. In consequence of this decision, and though His Excellency advised the Free State to give proper time to my people to evacuate the contested territory, the President, not minding this advice, ordered my people to leave in less than a month ; but in spite of this harshness I caused them to quit, which was an exceedingly hard thing for them, as hundreds of families had to abandon their homes, etc., during the rainy season, and it is impossible to describe all their

sufferings, as they had no shelter whatever, and it was a succession of hail-storms and rain all the time they were moving. The Governor had also desired the Free State to allow my people to reap their corn, or to give them a compensation for the crops they were obliged to leave; but all this was again refused, so the Free State Government has cruelly deprived thousands of my people of their daily bread.

“Lastly, one of the petty chiefs of my tribe of the name of Ramanella who had partly put himself under the Boers, committed some depredations in the Free State, and was fined; but as he refused to pay the fine, I paid it myself, for fear war should break out. This fine was received by the Boers, but they sent it back, the President thinking he was justified in punishing Ramanella according to the eleventh article of the Treaty of Aliwal, and though all my tribe wished to assist my countrymen, I prevented them, as I felt bound in some degree by the said treaty.

“The President seeing that the attack on Ramanella had not caused a war with me, he made most unreasonable demands to my brother, Paulus Moperi. I was informed of these demands by letter from the President, and though I immediately answered through his own messenger begging of him to consent to our settling this affair in a friendly way, the only answer I received to my communication was a large commando marching into my country.

“Consequently the only course left to me is to protect myself, and in so doing to prevent my people from being destroyed. I am sure all impartial persons will see that, although I am a true lover of peace,

it would be wrong for me to allow the Free State to trample on my people. It is well known, although all sorts of false reports are circulated, that the Basutos are not a bloodthirsty people; only two murders can be brought against them, and one would in all civilized countries be considered as manslaughter, and the other was a case of retaliation. For these two murders I could prove that scores *of my subjects have been murdered* by the burghers of the Free State. I am aware that formerly the Free State belonged to the British Government, and that when it was given up many English people remained and are now living amongst the Boers, but by doing so they did not cease to be the children of the Queen of England; I therefore let know to the Queen's subjects that I wish them no harm . . . but if God gives us the victory, I shall give strict orders that no Englishmen who remained on their farms should be molested. . . .

"I make this proclamation in order to show that I am not wishing to fight with the Queen or any of her subjects, but only to protect my people from the aggression of the Free State Government . . . for all persons know that my great sin is that I possess a good and fertile country.

"(Signed) MOSHESH."

These Proclamations were ingeniously contrived to appeal to a foreign gallery. Each side put its case in the best possible light, glossing over misdeeds common to both.

During the eight years since the war of 1858 the relative fighting capacity of the two territories had

somewhat changed. Pretorius and his factions had disappeared from the Free State ; all internal dissensions were now waived, the burghers uniting under President Brand in the presence of a common danger. Its population had increased considerably ; it was better armed and equipped.

The Basuto on the other hand were less efficient from a military point of view. The direction of affairs had to some extent passed out of the hands of their whilom dictator Moshesh, who seemed no longer mentally or physically capable of sustained efforts. He was less amenable to reason and out of touch with his leading chieftains who acted as independent units without concerted plans to assist each other or the cause. Of his sons, Letsie the eldest was weak in council and no general. Molapo, the second, if not cowardly, was ready to betray his country as he did his devoted missionary M. Coillard. To suit the times he became an apostate and violently anti-Christian. Masupha was brave, but rash and treacherous. Other prominent chiefs, Poshudi, Ramanella and Moirosi, preferred to carry on their own operations which brought discredit on the country, but had the merit of diverting towards them sections of the Free State army.

Both parties at once prepared for action. The combat was opened on June 14, when a Free State force of 850 men under Commandant-General Fick attacked the town of Moperi, near Mabilela, a station of the French missions close to the present town of Ficksburg. Though a strong position, it might easily have fallen if Moperi's people alone defended it. The

Boers however declined to be tempted to assault it without knowing in what strength it was held. Their caution was justified, for as the fight developed the garrison was found to have been strongly reinforced by contingents led by Masupha and Molitsane which soon swarmed over the rocks and offered a sturdy resistance. The Boers, satisfied with a demonstration, then retired in good order to their laager a few miles off, having lost one burgher, and according to General Fick's report, killed seventy or eighty Basuto. Nevertheless the project had failed, and, as the retirement was cheered by those who retained the position, it created the impression that this the first engagement of the campaign was a moral victory for the Basuto. Commandant Wepener, a courageous leader, resented the retirement and appealed to his comrades to join him at once in renewing the attack and storming the heights, otherwise the moral effect would be disastrous ; but he received no encouragement from the President or the General.

A few days later the combined forces of Moirosi and Poshudi made a furious inroad past Smithfield thirty miles towards Bloemfontein, burning farms and ravaging stock. The Free State forces on that side were not by that time marshalled, so the blow fell unexpectedly and heavily upon small parties hastily collected. Mr. Job Harvey, the Landdrost of Smithfield, relates the marvellous escapes of some patrols. Some were cut off and destroyed. Field-Cornet Van Asswegen on an isolated kopje held out bravely from ten o'clock in the morning till sundown losing twelve out of fifteen men ; Doris Potgieter with thirty-five men surrounded

on an open plain defied successfully the whole day swarms who attacked his entrenchment.

The attitude of the British Government and the Transvaal Republic at this juncture were matters of deep concern to both parties. President Pretorius at once showed his hand by issuing a stirring Proclamation to the burghers of the Republic imploring them to proceed before it was too late to the assistance of their brethren in the Orange Free State. Sir Philip Wodehouse followed suit with a Proclamation of Neutrality, similar to that of Sir George Grey, enjoining upon all British subjects white and black the penalties of taking any part in the struggle.

The passions of the Basuto were now let loose. Moshesh appears to have lost entire control of his sons and subordinate chiefs who made incursions in every direction, skilfully evading the main Free State forces which remained singularly inactive. Masupha particularly was very audacious ; but he was guilty of one most atrocious crime, the memory of which always clung to his name. Living at Platberg near the present town of Ladybrand were a remnant of Carolus Baatje's Bastards who had proved for some years faithful allies of the Free State. Approaching their village under cover of a white flag, Masupha with an impi of warriors bade the occupants be at ease as he cherished no hostile intentions. They slaughtered cattle and entertained the visitors hospitably. When the feast was over, Masupha's warriors by a preconcerted signal fell upon the unsuspecting Bastards, butchering nearly all of them in cold blood ; out of fifty-seven only three escaped, their property to-

gether with all the grown-up girls being driven off as booty to Basutoland.

This massacre was followed by a murderous outrage by Ramanella's people near Van Reenen's Pass on the Natal border. A party of Transvaalers, Piet Pretorius (a relative of the President), his three sons and another, were, when travelling quietly in the Free State territory with wagons containing goods belonging to Natal merchants, set upon and murdered. The next day a farmer named Botes, his son and a German schoolmaster met a violent death at the hands of the same parties ; in each case women and children were present but not harmed. Ramanella then headed an expedition below the Drakensburg into Natal in pursuit of Free State Boers who were accustomed to go there for winter grazing, attacking homesteads indiscriminately and returning with 1,500 cattle besides many horses and thousands of small stock.

The cup of misery for Moshesh was now full to overflowing. The nation he had built up was slipping out of his hands ; not one of his principal sons stood by the helm with him in the storm ; his people were running wild under the sway of frenzied leaders ; his missionaries were wringing their hands in despair in anticipation of the destruction of their work and stations. The Free State was infuriated, Transvaal subjects had been outraged, Natal was convulsed by Ramanella's incursion, and the Cape Colony was indignant with Moirosi whom they intermittently claimed as a subject. Every hand seemed raised against Basutoland. The stars in their courses fought against him.

The Colony of Natal took vigorous measures to





Photo by Valentine Blanchard.

SIR THEOPHILUS SHEPSTONE.

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resent their injuries. All Imperial troops and volunteers available were pushed up to the Upper Tugela with Mr. (afterwards Sir Theophilus) Shepstone, the Secretary for Native Affairs, who made an instant demand upon the Basuto for reparation on account of the raid and the expenses incurred for repelling it, holding Molapo responsible for the acts of Ramanella. Molapo replied in his own name and that of his father regretting the occurrences, which were entirely repudiated by Moshesh, as the deeds of a turbulent and irresponsible subordinate who would be punished and surrendered if necessary.

The Basuto were so frightened by these cumulative misadventures and so concerned at rousing the enmity of Natal that they remained quiet for the time being, evidently torn by dissensions. Molapo particularly, who feared having to bear the brunt of vengeance for Ramanella's offences, showed signs of defection, endeavouring to hedge by asking the Natal Government to take him over with his people and country as their subject. This he did without consulting Moshesh who promptly scouted the proposal. Molapo was neither patriotic nor brave, behaving then, as he did later, treacherously to the tribe and disgracefully to his missionary M. Coillard who strove devotedly by negotiating with Mr. Shepstone to ward off the vengeance the Natal forces were eager to exact. In this M. Coillard could not have succeeded but for the fine spirit of forbearance shown by Mr. Shepstone. The correspondence at that juncture between those two high-minded men is a splendid example of right and justice.

The next move of importance was made by Commandant Wepener who, leaving the main body, raised and took command of a southern force with which he assailed Vechtkop, the old stronghold of Poshudi then in possession of Lebenya. According to his report of July 14, 1865, he stormed the mountain with 340 burghers and 200 natives drawn from Jan Letelle with such success that in half an hour possession was gained, sixty of the enemy being killed of whom he regretted to say half were women, undistinguished from men hiding in the schanses; 150 horses and 5,000 mixed stock were captured.

From Vechtkop Wepener, full of soldierly instinct, pushed on boldly to Matsieng, there to meet and overcome quickly the forces of Letsie and capture 1,000 horses and much stock. Prior to advancing from thence to Thaba Bosigo to co-operate with General Fick he issued a Proclamation in his own name annexing to the Free State the whole country he had traversed, including a considerable strip of mountain land far removed from the Caledon River.

In due course Mr. Shepstone reluctantly felt compelled to propose the movement of 15,000 native levies to attack Basutoland in rear by entering through the precipitate passes of the Drakensburg facing the Tugela, the object being to coerce the Basuto, who had failed to respond to reasonable overtures, into the surrender of property raided by Ramanella and indemnification for losses and costs.

Sir Philip Wodehouse, to whom as High Commissioner the proposals were submitted, demurred to and stoutly refused to sanction them on the grounds

that Moshesh having been penned in and harassed on all sides, had not been allowed fair time or means to carry out his promises to make reparation ; that Ramanella had notoriously acted without orders and in any case was in his raid only following Free State cattle sent to Natal for security ; that the murder of Pretorius and party, atrocious as it was of course, followed a Proclamation of the Transvaal President calling upon the Transvaalers to rush to the assistance of the Free State. For these and other reasons he declined to allow Her Majesty's Government to join in any offensive operations against the Basuto, who had always behaved well to us and were now sorely pressed, unless and until he was satisfied after further investigation that they possessed the ability but lacked the inclination to comply with our just demands.

Against the policy of the High Commissioner, the Legislative Council of Natal strenuously appealed to the Queen. Their Petition enunciated that the Colony had suffered a loss by violence of £17,000 but was debarred from enforcing its rights ; consequently, its prestige was in grave danger from this timid and hesitating policy of restraint which paralysed that local action so essential in maintaining ascendancy over those savage tribes by whom they were surrounded.

From June 14 till the middle of July, General Fick was more or less inactive whilst consolidating his forces and awaiting the arrival of some Armstrong guns. On July 17 he concentrated for another attack on the outlying stronghold of Moperi at Mekuatleng but

was surprised to find it evacuated ; then moving to Cathcart's Drift he forded the Caledon and reconnoitred the country up to the Putiatsana, proclaiming the whole country north and east of that river, which took in the country occupied by Molapo and Ramanella, as Free State territory. On July 25, reinforced by six hundred of Moroko's Baralongs, he seized and occupied the Berea mountain meeting with little resistance. After remaining there a few days, skirmishing and testing the range of his new guns which appeared to explode shell unpleasantly close to Moshesh's head-quarters, he descended by the route taken by Colonel Eyre, coming to a halt close to the spot where in 1853 General Cathcart was uncomfortably camped under the brows of Thaba Bosigo. There he awaited a junction on August 3 with Commandant Wepener from Matsieng, whereupon Krijgsraads were held.

These Councils of War were not limited to the General and his principal officers but were practically open-air meetings ; consequently a multitude of counsels prevailed accompanied by much diversity of opinion. Every little faction considered itself, in the absence of a sound system of discipline, entitled to interpret orders as either to be obeyed or not at pleasure. Had the force been held together under a determined leader like the brave Wepener, who alone seemed capable of it, success was assured. But it was not so. When therefore an assault was ordered on August 8 it was conducted in so half-hearted a way that at sight of the stone barriers half-way up the mountain and a few volleys of rocks hurled down by the enemy,

the burghers after a few casualties retired hurriedly without making any impression.

On the evening of August 14 it was resolved to carry out at daybreak next morning a general attack upon the mountain. The following information is derived from the semi-official account of the operation published on August 25, 1865, in the *Friend*, then the only newspaper in the Free State.

When mustered the Free State force consisted of 2,100 white men and about 1,000 native auxiliaries. The plans were that 600 men should hold the camp; the remaining 1,500 and native allies were to unite in the assault, their advance to be cleared by the guns. Two hundred Batlokoa were detailed to occupy Nhloholo and protect the right flank and the camp from surprise on that side; 500 Baralongs under Commandant Webster to perform a similar duty on the left. The main body were to scale the heights above Job's village converging to a path giving access to the crest. Instead however of ordering the column to do so, it was decided to call for volunteers who were promised as a reward the pick of farms in the newly annexed territory. It was a fatal error to give the option, for after wasting much time, only 550 came forward and they were insufficient. Then, as the sun was getting high, General Fick changed his mind, decided to defer the attack till next day and ordered Wepener to make a demonstration round the mountain. Wepener, ever ready for action, started on this duty but discovered en route what he believed to be a favourable line of ascent above the mission station on the eastern side

which he offered to attempt with 600 men if his advance was well supported. To this the General assented.

Wepener, whose small band had diminished by desertion to 500, accompanied by Commandant Wessels, galloped to the highest ledge horses could reach, dismounted and led the storming party under cover of artillery fire. This was the signal for a strong party of Basuto hitherto screened from view to dash up a valley on the left for a rear attack on the stormers but they were intercepted and foiled by Webster and his Baralongs.

As after an hour's fighting Wepener found that the task was heavy and the progress slow he sent to inform General Fick that the effort must fail unless he was reinforced. Fick then sent a detachment of 200 men and one gun to threaten the pass originally contemplated above Job's village in the hope of causing a diversion, and ordered Commandant Smit to send 100 men to Wepener's aid. Smit's men refused to move, as did the men of other commandants many of whom were missing, 300 being discovered in shelter under the walls of the mission station. General Fick then rode off to hunt up defaulters and returned with a few burghers and 100 Batlokoas with whom he moved up to support the storming party.

Just at that time the gallant Wepener, who had nearly gained the crest, was shot dead in a gallant attempt to force a gateway held by Masupha. Wessels boldly led on until himself badly wounded a few minutes later. The fall of their leaders had a most



disheartening effect upon the stormers. Before Fick could reassure them they yielded to panic and surged in a confused mass down the steep sides of the mountain they had well-nigh won, leaving some of their dead and wounded behind. Wessels escaped with difficulty.

The panic was unaccountable seeing that the advance party of stormers had reached a ledge which masked them from the missiles of the defenders above and were quietly awaiting for supports to come up before rushing the final barricades but a short distance higher which the Basutos were preparing to fly from. The retreat was covered by the guns and the whole force fell back upon the camp, having suffered a loss of nine killed and over thirty seriously wounded. Wepener was buried on the mountain by the missionary Dr. Lautré. It was a bad repulse just as success was almost achieved and was ascribed to the discreditable hesitation of some of the burghers who from want of organization and discipline failed to rally at the critical moment when victory hung in the balance.

The condition of the Basuto that day, according to letters of the time from Messrs. Coillard, Burnet and others, was most deplorable. Moshesh had collected on the plateau forming the crown of Thaba Bosigo a vast herd of cattle, thinking his people would fight for them if they would not cling to their chiefs, then much divided. The mountain top was soon in a fearful state. The cattle maddened by hunger and thirst died by thousands, their dead bodies being used as barriers.

The events of the day caused deep depression on both sides. The one had failed when the mastery was within its grasp ; the other had been smitten hard and was conscious of a defeat nearly inflicted upon them whilst their foe lay encamped around to all appearances meditating a further attempt. Neither realized how sick the other was.

Whether the Basuto were being poisoned by the putrifying carcasses, or whether Moshesh argued that if time could be gained the burghers would as usual melt away in driblets to their homes, he made the first move after a pause of inaction by addressing a letter on August 23 to President Brand, then at Bloemfontein, to the effect that he was quite willing to submit their quarrel to the arbitration of the High Commissioner who had often expressed himself ready to mediate ; if the Free State would accept, he was prepared to consider their proposals for a cessation of hostilities. General Fick who received and forwarded the letter was unable to agree upon the terms of an armistice, though an informal one followed.

On August 28 the President's answer arrived. It traversed again the ground covered in his Declaration of War, stated that the Basuto paid no regard to promises, unless compelled by force to do so, that substantial peace could only be procured by the sword, and that, if Moshesh within three hours of receiving the letter did not comply with the conditions enclosed, hostilities would be resumed with the utmost rigour, in co-operation with the Transvaal, who were determined to avenge the murder of the Pretorius party.

## TERMS AND CONDITIONS

*upon which the Government of the Orange Free State is willing to make Peace with the Basutos, in consequence of Moshesh's application, dated Thaba Bosigo 1865 (August 23)*

*Article I.*—The Chief Moshesh and the Basutos at present on Thaba Bosigo are to evacuate Thaba Bosigo forthwith, and to deliver up to the General in command of the Free State Army before Thaba Bosigo all the arms and ammunition of war which are there. Thaba Bosigo to be in future occupied by a Free State Magistrate, with followers, under whose supervision the Chief of the Basutos will in future govern his people.

*Article II.*—The Chief Moshesh to pay to the Government of the Orange Free State within four days of the delivery of this letter 10,000 head of cattle and 5,000 horses, in satisfaction of the expenses of the war.

*Article III.*—The Chief Moshesh to deliver within the said four days 60,000 sheep and 30,000 head of cattle, as compensation for the robberies and damage done by his people both before and after the war.

*Article IV.*—The land conquered by General Fick and provisional General Wepener from the Basutos and proclaimed as Free State territory, to be annexed to the Free State, and the boundary line between Basutoland and the Free State to be in future as follows: From the Natal beacon along the Caledon River to within three miles to the east of Letsie's new town, and from there in a straight line to Bamboesplaats to the east of Pompoenspruit.

*Article V.*—The Chief Moshesh to reply within three hours after the delivery of my letter conveying these conditions, whether he be willing to submit to these conditions, and to send that answer by two of his principal sons known to me, who shall remain as hostages until the treaty of peace shall have been signed, and if within the said three hours the said answer and hostages are not in the Free State laager near to 'Thaba Bosigo, then the armistice granted by General Fick will at once cease, and the war be carried on with vigour and energy.

The President of the Orange Free State.

(Signed) J. H. BRAND.

This letter and enclosure were handed under a flag of truce by Adjutant-General Lange to Nehemiah who took it to his father. He shortly returned with his brother Tsekelo saying that, in the absence of their brother George who was the Chief's Secretary, Moshesh did not clearly comprehend the import; they asked Lange if he would personally guarantee the safety of the two sons suggested as hostages, and further go up the mountain to explain the conditions. Lange did not feel at liberty to go, but consented to allow three days' grace instead of three hours'. His report ended with the words:—

“Without George, the old man seems at a loss what to do.”

It was correct. George Moshesh was level-headed, bold and true to his father.

Next day, Moshesh despatched an urgent note to

the High Commissioner in the following terms. But it could not reach Cape Town under seven days.

*Letter from MOSHESH to the HIGH COMMISSIONER*

“THABA BOSIGO, 29th August, 1865.

“MY DEAR SIR, . . .

“ . . . Allow me to state that I have done all that was laying in my power to maintain peace . . . with the Free State, and I have offered to the Boers all they demanded from, when I thought it just, but they do continually propose conditions so unreasonable that it is evident they were not willing to keep peace.

“After their having run through all my country, killing women and children, burning all the villages and the corn they met with, I have sent to them for peace, but their conditions are so immoderate, that I cannot comply with them.

“As Your Excellency will see by the present document, they ask from me to deliver up to them two of my sons till the treaty of peace is signed, and all my arms, and an exorbitant fine, etc.

“Another condition imposed upon me is that I must become subject to the Free State ; but I will never do so. I consider myself subject to the British Government, and I hope Your Excellency shall take interest in my cause, and come to establish peace as soon as possible, as I am determined the Government of the Free State will never have my country. I am therefore giving myself and my country up to Her Majesty's Government under certain conditions which we may agree upon between Your Excellency and me.

“I hope to hear from Your Excellency as soon as possible what I am to do, begging you to consider that all my people has fled, and are living under the rocks looking with anxiety for having the liberty of ploughing and sowing their fields. . . .

“My son George shall remain in Aliwal until Your Excellency favours me with an answer. I remain with the highest consideration of Your Excellency, your dutiful subject.

“Mark X of Moshesh.”



Photo by T. Lindsay Fairclough.

THE GRAVES OF THE CHIEFS, THABA BOSIGO.



Photo by T. Lindsay Fairclough.

KHU'ABA LEYA BOHOBE (THE CROW EATING BREAD), ONE OF THE MALUTI PEAKS.  
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## CHAPTER XIX

. . . Black chaos comes again.

SHAKESPEARE.

The Transvaal declares war against Basutoland: the Governor demands compensation for Ramanella's raid into Natal: Moshesh rejects the Free State terms as too hard and war is resumed: the siege of Thaba Bosigo is abandoned: Transvaal contingent arrives: flying columns formed: indiscriminate fighting: High Commissioner recommends annexation of Basutoland which Imperial Government declines: Sir P. Wodehouse offers to mediate without success: General Fick gets behind the Basuto defence: Molapo makes terms and forces Moshesh to follow suit

1865—1866

WHILST Moshesh, standing at bay on his mountain with about 1,800 warriors so disposed as to parry attack at all vulnerable points, was considering the Free State terms he was the recipient of two communications of momentous character. The first was a letter dated August 26, 1865, from Sir Philip Wodehouse. In it His Excellency stated he was aware that the Chief was under much pressure from investment; but he could not allow that to be the excuse for not affording to Natal reparation for

its injuries and loss amounting to £18,000 ; he therefore requested in the name of the British Government immediate delivery of 10,000 full-grown cattle, or an equivalent in sheep at the rate of five for each bullock, and further that Ramanella should be summarily and severely punished. By making the demand in this form as High Commissioner, it removed from Natal the power to coerce the Basuto.

Moshesh was relieved at this form of procedure, because, as communications with Cape Town took a long time, it gave him leisure to satisfy the demands whilst he wrote procrastinating letters.

The second was a Transvaal Proclamation declaring that as the murderers of the Pretorius party had not been given up nor the damages claimed paid, war was declared against Basutoland by the Transvaal.

It would seem that the Chief was ill-advised in not complying at once with the Governor's orders, provided of course that he had the power. Of that we have not at this distance of time sufficient means of judging. His failure to do so gave rise to a vexatious correspondence between all parties concerned, ending after several months in his losing the sympathy of many friends desirous of sustaining him in his difficulties. The fact however was clear that he could trust neither his son Molapo nor Ramanella. He hesitated to coerce them lest it might result in a betrayal of the tribe, of which they were both capable, and thus open a door through which the Free State forces might enter and establish a base at close quarters. Personally he wished to wipe out the Ramanella disgrace. It was quite a mistake to think, as so many

chroniclers of the time did, he wished to condone it or halted for any reason other than the danger of exposing his northern flank by alienating its defenders.

The policy of Sir Philip Wodehouse received the fullest confirmation from England. The Secretary of State (then Mr. Cardwell) in a series of despatches announced that the course he had followed was quite in accord with the views of Her Majesty's Government and conveyed approval of his forbearing and pacific conduct ; they placed great confidence in his judgment as to the nature and amount of reparation he considered necessary to require of Moshesh. "In the circumstances in which he has been placed," wrote Mr. Cardwell, "it may readily be believed that it has not been possible for him to prevent the minor chiefs who own his authority from committing acts which he is sincerely desirous of preventing. I see no reason to doubt that your reliance on his sincerity in this instance has been well founded : and if he offers compensation I am entirely disposed to believe that you exercise a very sound discretion in accepting that compensation, and requiring as you propose at his hands the punishment of the guilty parties. . . . But I feel no difficulty in saying that unless it should be called for by some overruling necessity, it is the wish of Her Majesty's Government not to enlarge the boundaries of the present British Colonies nor to extend the area of our responsibilities in South Africa."

The Terms and Conditions formulated on August 25 by President Brand were absurdly severe. It was hopeless to expect the Basuto to consent to surrender of arms, abandonment of Thaba Bosigo, submission

to Republican law and abdication of the country most suitable for cultivation. When discussed by the chiefs and people assembled they unanimously resolved they would die in resisting rather than become Free State subjects or be forced to live like baboons in caves to be shot at pleasure ; they would die also rather than part with all they had which would be the case if they were deprived of 40,000 cattle, 5,000 horses, and 60,000 sheep. Such a fine indeed represented a value of at least £150,000. Public opinion was therefore firm and uncompromising.

The burghers meanwhile adopted the usual custom of dispersing in dribblets to their homes on furlough ; some came back, others did not. But in any case the number available for siege duty was considerably reduced and irregular. Nevertheless they made a daily display by pounding away with their guns at the top of Thaba Bosigo, killing a few people now and then and wounding cattle but otherwise taking no aggressive measures.

In this way the time was employed until September 17 when Moshesh sent his reply to the letter of August 25 in a three-line note saying that the conditions offered were too heavy for him to comply with. To this the President, who had arrived at the camp, responded that as the Chief seemed anxious for some slight modifications he would be willing to hear what they were if put in writing and authenticated by seal. After a brief armistice the answer from Moshesh was :—

“ My desire is to come to peace on equal terms. I have already had severe losses and have been

severely chastised for the war. . . . I have fully considered the conditions . . . and I find I cannot comply with any of them except the one condition of the boundary line decided upon by the Governor. Further I would request that the former Treaties should be renewed upon a more permanent basis. . . .”

The President then terminated the correspondence in a final letter :—

*Letter from the* PRESIDENT OF THE ORANGE FREE  
STATE *to the* CHIEF MOSHESH

“CAMP BEFORE THABA BOSIGO, 18th September, 1865.

“CHIEF MOSHESH,

“I have just now received your letter in which you say you cannot agree to any of the conditions of peace mentioned in my reply to your letter of 23rd August. The armistice is now at an end, and the war will be prosecuted with vigour until the Basutos are in a mood to make reparation for all the lawless acts perpetrated by them, and which render it necessary for the Government of the Free State to take up arms against them.

“The President of the Orange Free State.

“(Signed) J. H. BRAND.”

Shortly afterwards the Chief, who was much disturbed by intelligence that President Pretorius was on his way to Basutoland with a corps of Transvaal burghers, received the following letter from the High Commissioner which crushed all immediate hope of British intervention.

*Letter from the HIGH COMMISSIONER to the CHIEF  
MOSHESH*

“CAPE TOWN, 25th September, 1865.

“GREAT CHIEF,

“I have received your letter of the 29th of August, in which you acquaint me with your present position, and the conditions on which alone the Government of the Orange Free State will be prepared to make peace with you, and request that I will become a mediator with that Government on your behalf, as the terms are so severe that it is out of your power to comply with them.

“It is with very great regret that I have heard of the misery and distress to which your tribe have been exposed by hostilities, which might, in my opinion, have been averted by better management on both sides, and by which I have little hope that the permanent peace of the country will be promoted.

“But I feel that it is impracticable for this Government at the present juncture to interpose in any manner between yourself and the Free State with any propriety, or with any prospect of a good result to either party.

“And the less so, because, while informing me that you cannot comply with the President’s terms, you give me no intimation of the concessions you would really be prepared to make for the purpose of securing peace.

“I must also remind you that so far as I am informed you have not taken any decisive steps for making reparation to the Government of Natal for the unlawful inroad of Ramanella, or for punishing that

Chief. So long as this is the case you cannot justly expect me to place faith in your professions of desire to fulfil all the obligations of a faithful ally of the British Government.

“Your conduct in this respect is the more remarkable, as you must be fully aware that it is through the misconduct of this man, and your neglect to take energetic steps for checking him, that you have been drawn into the war with the Free State, from which you are now suffering so heavily.

“I do not suppose that in your present position you are yourself able to act against him, but your son Molapo is apparently free to act at his own pleasure. He has professed his great desire to show his attachment to the British Government, and it will be well for you to direct him to do so, by proceeding at once to execute judgment on Ramanella.

“With this explanation I have only to assure you that whenever circumstances will really admit of it, I shall be most willing to assist to the best of my ability in the restoration of peace.

“I have, etc.

“(Signed) P. E. WODEHOUSE.”

While pondering over this disappointment Moshesh was relieved to see the Free State army break up and abandon the investment of his mountain. He dreaded another assault and was astounded to find the camp evacuated.

General Fick formed two columns, sending one under Piet Wessels to operate against Moirosi on the lower Orange River and proceeding with the other to

effect a junction with the Transvaalers of Pretorius who arrived at Sikonyela's Hoed on September 28, under military command of S. J. P. Kruger (afterwards President of the Transvaal). Their idea was to force an entry into Basutoland through the rough country near the head-waters of the Caledon River. Whilst arranging plans and off their guard, three bodies of Basuto under Molapo charged the camp furiously in the grey dawn of the 29th, surprised the laager gate and killed six Boers before the alarm was given. They were eventually beaten off with the loss of over fifty men.

On October 6 Fick linked up his column with that of Kruger ; then with a combined force of 1,200 men during the next fortnight they swept through the northern districts from Harrismith down to the Putiatsana river annexing by Proclamation the whole of upper and central Basutoland. Arrived at Cathcart's Drift on the 23rd they met and repulsed there a vigorous onslaught by the Basuto under Masupha who were driven to retreat over the Berea mountain leaving a quantity of stock in the hands of the victors. The Transvaalers, under the impression that the war was over, at this juncture returned home.

A few days later Commandant Piet Wessels aided by a strong contingent of native allies drawn from the Batlokoa and Jan Letelle surprised the Baphuti on the north side of the Orange River killing 105 and capturing 3,000 head of mixed stock. As Moirosi, assisted on this occasion by Poshudi and other chiefs, was easily worsted he lost hope of receiving effective support from Moshesh and, without consulting the latter,



placed his whole clan under the Cape Colonial Government who however declined to accept for fear of being drawn into hostilities.

On October 16 Sir Philip Wodehouse, uneasy on account of the delay in satisfaction of the claim made by him in August which Natal persistently pressed, directed Mr. Burnet to proceed to Basutoland and, after urging the matter upon Moshesh, to give Molapo a positive order to carry it through. Mr. Burnet struggled vainly for over a month to bring the Chief and his sons to a sense of their obligations. His diary of thirty-eight days' effort to that end is a depressing document. He arrived there on November 1: on the 18th he wrote to Moshesh that after fifteen days' constant intercourse he had exhausted every persuasion and was weary of it; that he must retire, as to parley further was degrading to himself and the Governor. But under entreaty he remained and did his duty patiently, visiting Molapo in his mountain retreat and other chiefs.

In the end, reporting to the High Commissioner he was bound to admit that his mission had partially failed for the following principal reasons :—

Moshesh would make no contribution himself and 1,800 cattle subscribed by Letsie diminished considerably in his father's hands (abstracted probably by his younger sons);

Out of 4,000 collected with much labour towards the 10,000 fine, one half were pilfered while on their way to the Natal authorities;

The Basutos were reluctant to subscribe cattle fearing

that if their own chiefs did not appropriate them the Free State army would seize them en route ;

The jealousy between Letsie and Molapo was so intense that every reasonable proposition was defeated ;

Moshesh would one day order Molapo to punish Ramanella and “eat him up,” and next day cancel it ;

Molapo alternately threatened to renounce Ramanella and defended him on the plea that in raiding Natal he was following legitimate spoil sheltered there by the Boers while they fought.

Mr. Burnet finally came to the conclusion that it was almost imperative to supersede Moshesh and deal directly with Letsie and Molapo in this matter. Writing to Sir Philip Wodehouse he said :—

*Letter from the CIVIL COMMISSIONER OF ALIWAL  
NORTH to the HIGH COMMISSIONER*

“BEREA, 6th November, 1865.

“ . . . Moshesh is done mentally. All is disorganization and jealousy among the greater Chiefs, who as well as the petties find the reins slipping from their hands. The great mass of the people are tired, worn out by the oppression and bad government of the Chiefs ; and I am persuaded that the whole of Basutoland is ripe, rotten ripe for falling into the hands of the Queen’s Government if a plan could be found. Any sort of supervision or rule, the simplest in the first instance the better, would do at first—even an Agent or Resident to settle cattle and theft cases. It could be done without one shilling of cost. I feel

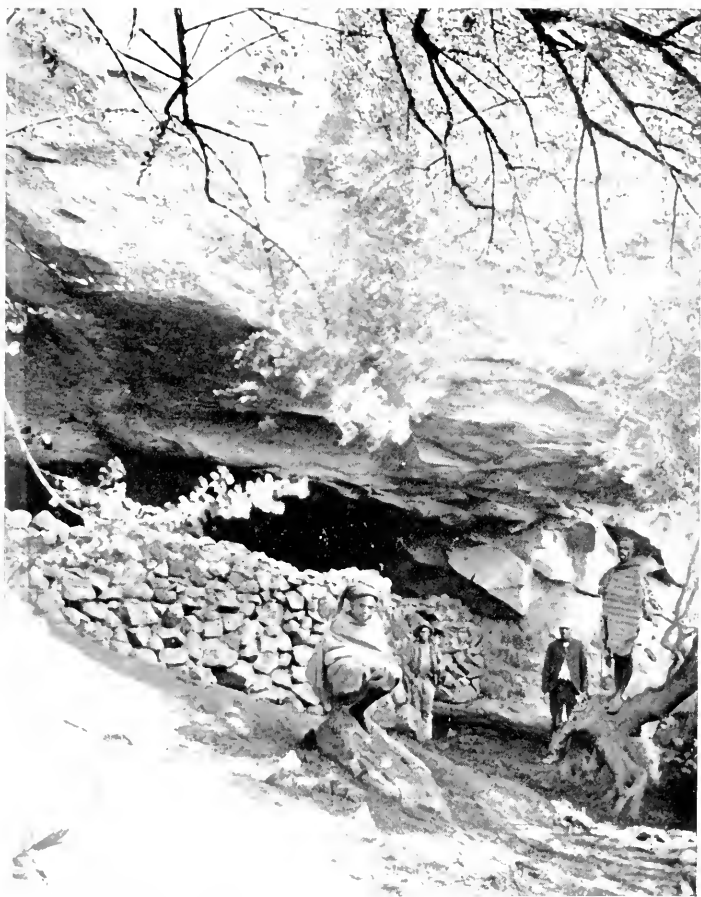


Photo by T. Lindsay Fairclough.

FORTIFIED CAVE AT LEBISE MASUPHA'S, BEREA.



assured if I had the power at this moment I could establish the Queen's Government at the expense of a sheet of foolscap.

"A short time must bring matters to a crisis. It seems scarcely credible that even if the Boers had this country they could govern it with the natives in it, their abhorrence of them being so deeply rooted. To banish them from the country, or settle it by the introduction of Boers, seems to be scarcely less possible, as the Basutos would descend the mountains, plunder, murder and destroy.

"The whole of the Thaba Bosigo mission premises are destroyed, a mass of ruin. The resident missionary Jousse, now in France, is despoiled of everything.

"Dr. Lautré nearly the same; all his furniture, medicines, surgery, etc., gone. All of Maitin's property which was there is gone. The pretext was that firing was going on from some of the premises. Lautré stayed till driven out by the shells breaking his walls. . . .

"(Signed) JOHN BURNET."

He followed this up on his return to Aliwal North by a political report to the effect that Moshesh's rule had broken down owing to his jealousy of his children's interference and their jealousy of each other as to the succession; if therefore it was the wish of the British Government to preserve Basutoland the only way was to extend the Queen's authority over it—otherwise they would soon cease to exist as a tribe; a great change was necessary; the only alternative in his opinion was to convert it into a Native Reserve, to

appoint three magistrates in the north, centre and south respectively and lay the foundations of law, order and prosperity ; the cost of this and a police force to be met out of a hut tax the people would readily pay. To this he added a personal letter denouncing Moshesh.

*Extracts from a Letter of the CIVIL COMMISSIONER OF  
ALIWAL NORTH to the HIGH COMMISSIONER*

" ALIWAL NORTH, 18th December, 1865.

" MY DEAR SIR PHILIP,

" I have not been able at last to refrain longer from exposing the weakness, deceit, etc., of old Moshesh. It has been the custom to cast a mantle over it in all official matters up to your time, and to hold him up as the paragon of a child of nature. Although he has never kept faith with any British official since our first connection with him until he was fairly run to earth, such has been missionary and other influence that he has been held to be right and everybody else wrong who has ever had to do with him.

" In this case, to say nothing of his deceitful letters to yourself in the first instance, his conduct in the end has been shameful ; and if any excuse can be set up for it, it can only be that his mind is gone, as pleaded by his children. If it be so, it only proves the utter hopelessness of considering him any longer as the responsible head of the Basutos. . . .

" I believe Moshesh is afraid to punish Ramanella, because in all probability he would fly to the Boers.

" (Signed) JOHN BURNET."

To the official proposal Sir Philip Wodehouse replied semi-officially to Mr. Burnet :—

“ . . . But really the thing calls for very wary walking. The Home Government have an intense horror of additional responsibility, which to them means money and soldiers, and we have not yet got to annexing to the Cape Colony without any intervention on the part of the Queen. Money, moreover, is a formidable impediment, for I have none of the Queen’s and I dare not commit myself to any undertaking on the faith that this Parliament will provide funds. Still it is very desirable that when a good time comes, something should be done, and I wish you would tell me more of your notion that it could be done without expense. . . . ”

Whilst Her Majesty’s Government, perplexed at the turn of affairs, were considering the situation they received from the Committee of the French Missions a powerful appeal under the hand of the Rev. Dr. Casalis who had returned to Paris after twenty-three years in Basutoland. After tracing the course of past history Dr. Casalis drew attention to the effect of the present disastrous war upon Christianity and civilization. Many stations had been established, some demolished, thousands of natives were converted from heathenism, a central normal school built, and now, after much perseverance and sacrifice, all was shattered. The country was in ruins, crops were burnt, famine stared them in the face and the better half of the country was unceremoniously annexed by the Boers. The

Basuto had been badly treated; they had vacated a portion of their land at the behest of British Governors, had been loyal, had been abandoned, had suffered by Treaties made in favour of the Boers, had never been compensated for their own losses, and were driven to the present hostilities by the precipitate and ruthless ejection of hundreds of families hunted away in an inclement season without food or shelter to seek refuge amongst their kindred, some being shot on the way. In supplicating terms the appeal to the British Government was not to desert in their extremity those whose faithful alliance had been proved up to the hilt.

At the time of the departure of the Transvaal contingent the season of the year was favourable to ploughing and the planting of spring crops so that, as the burghers straggled away to their farms for that purpose, General Fick found himself with a force too emasculated to execute major operations. The Basuto also devoted what attention they could to cultivation, though seed grain was very scarce. For these reasons there was a lull in the strife during the closing months of 1865 broken only at intervals by bold expeditions carried out swiftly by small Boer commandos maintained on the border for harassing tactics.

General Fick reported on December 1 that with 600 men and 2 guns he again attacked Molapo in Leribe, driving him to a stronghold at Thaba Patsoa twelve miles distant with a loss of twelve men; but it was a tough running fight, the Basuto disputing the ground obstinately and hanging dangerously around the camps every night. Returning to Platberg on



the 6th he encountered a large body of the enemy under Masupha who, according to the Adjutant-General, offered the sternest resistance they had yet experienced. They were defeated with the loss of fifty and three burghers fell. On the 17th he was obliged to storm again the Berea mountain which had been reoccupied in menacing numbers by Masupha who was driven off with loss.

Commandant Smit on the 10th at Matsieng engaged Letsie, killing fifteen and capturing stock. Commandants L. Wessels and Roos on the 13th cleared the Korannaberg with little difficulty losing one burgher against a loss to the enemy of fifteen. Commandant Webster on the 31st led a commando past the "Hell" of old memory where a "cattle trap" laid for them was avoided. Passing on to the plateaux in rear of Matsieng he worried the enemy right up to Makwai's mountain securing unexpectedly a fine lot of stock deserted by the herds in panic. By such methods the Basuto were harried and discomfited.

On January 8, 1866, the High Commissioner acquainted Moshesh of his unwilling conviction that the Chief had behaved with insincerity in not keeping his promises to compensate Natal; the Government could not submit to such deceit and evasion in return for its forbearance and good-will; therefore he was under the painful necessity of informing the Natal Government they were free to enter Basutoland in sufficient strength to seize what was required in satisfaction; further, he might feel obliged to ignore the Chief and in future consult his principal sons in respect of political relations. Thereupon he wrote in similar

terms to Letsie and Molapo, advising them to act promptly in their father's behalf, otherwise he could not entertain their repeated prayers for an extension of the Queen's dominion over them. At the same time he authorized the Governor of Natal to organize an army of Zulus and Volunteers for the purpose of bursting into Basutoland to levy the fine if not redeemed before a date of which due notice was to be given.

In addition to his official letters of January 8, Sir Philip Wodehouse wrote several of the same date of a confidential character showing that, in spite of Moshesh's shortcomings, he was anxious to succour the Basutos. To that end he addressed the Governor of Natal in the following sense, trusting it might have a restraining effect :—

The latest accounts from the Free State justified a belief that the commandos were disorganized and the people generally so weary of war as to render it not improbable that negotiations for peace may in some form be set on foot : it was therefore inexpedient by any action on our part that could be avoided to revive the hopes of the Boers and thus give fresh life to hostilities. Much allowance should be made for the distracted condition of the Basutos. It was clear that no one would undertake to punish Ramanella in the absence of an unequivocal order from Moshesh ; in fact any decided effort to do so would drive him into the arms of the Boers. Every Chief of importance in the tribe had appealed urgently for the Queen's protection but it was doubtful how Her Majesty's

Government would view such an arrangement. Believing that much good would result from such a change he, the Governor, would gladly keep open the door for negotiations to that effect and therefore, while not absolutely tying the hands of Natal, he begged they would weigh the circumstances and moderate their action accordingly.

To Mr. Burnet he wrote also confidentially, desiring him to privately inform the missionaries that he was personally favourable to the proposal of extending British rule over Basutoland if peace or a suspension of hostilities could be brought about ; but the Basuto would put it out of his power to take advantage of this so long as the Natal claim was unrequited. The missionaries must therefore be invited to move the old Chief and his sons to respond effectively to the orders and advice given to them.

This comprehensive correspondence of January 8 had scarcely been posted when the Governor discovered that owing to incorrect information from Natal as to their true losses he had been led to demand from the Basuto 10,000 cattle when 4,000 would have sufficed, 2,141 of which had been delivered after Burnet's mission. He expressed himself as greatly annoyed at having been induced inadvertently to impose an excessive penalty for an act committed by a solitary chieftain without consent of the heads of the tribe during a state of disorder brought on by a border war in which many of the losers of property were engaged. He thereupon considered it his im-

perative duty to cancel by a despatch of January 11 his authority for Natal to invade Basutoland and forbade any advance whatever without his further instructions.

Influenced by this irritating affair, Sir Philip Wodehouse whose sympathetic leanings towards the Basuto had for some time been manifest deemed it a fitting moment to lay the whole case before the Imperial Government and suggest annexation. In a despatch of January 13, 1866, he reminded the Secretary of State of the frequent and sincere solicitations of the tribe to be taken over as the sole chance of saving them from confusion and distress and of preserving peace in South Africa. The Free State was always too weak to protect its own subjects, repel invasion or govern the Basuto. The war between them promised to impoverish both races and in the end to leave one strong enough perhaps to crush its neighbour. Basutoland was split up into divisions owing to the failing of Moshesh. Nevertheless the people had advanced and were worthy of help. They were amenable to order, were prepared to pay for the cost of administration, and consequently he, the Governor, was convinced it was our duty and interest to accede to their wishes. For all those reasons he recommended that the country should be declared as part of Cape Colony, to be rendered subject to its laws but placed under the authority of the High Commissioner.

Evidently nervous lest the position should be compromised, the Secretary of State, then Mr. Cardwell, replied with unusual haste. In a despatch of March 9, 1866, he stated that :—

The extension of British rule in South Africa was a matter too serious in its bearings to be entertained without some overruling necessity such as had not yet arisen nor was likely to arise in the present case: it was natural that Moshesh, old, failing in health, harassed by war, perplexed by domestic difficulties, should be willing to submit to a power whose protection would at once shield him from external danger and relieve him from internal embarrassment. But, the danger being over, the pressure of control might be felt and feelings change; even if he was satisfied, rival ambitions might, at his decease, unite in resisting a superiority irksome to all.

When native rites and customs were repugnant to Christianity and involved usages inconsistent with the free institutions of British rule, difficulties were introduced which it was desirable to avoid by abstaining from the extension of sovereignty—otherwise it gave the alternative of forcible repression or the recognition of practices alien to our principles. But it remained to consider whether there were not other means to accomplish the object in view. Were it made clear to chiefs and people that if, in the case of measures taken for their express benefit, they did not provide the means by taxation, or disobeyed orders, our protection might at once be withdrawn and they would then be left to their fate, it would be easier to withdraw an Agent, such as had been formerly proposed, than to retire from a sovereignty. Sovereignty involved correlative obligations under which public and personal right grew up such as it was difficult if not dishonourable to compromise for the sake of some political con-

venience arising at the time. It ought not therefore to be lightly undertaken, and could not easily be given up.

The Secretary of State in conclusion was not prepared to authorize the Basuto tribe being taken under the immediate authority of the Queen.

This made it quite clear that annexation was out of the question ; but it revived and sanctioned the old expedient of appointing a Resident Agent which the Governor in his anxiety might reasonably have done at once and was preparing to do. In order however to show his embarrassments under changes of Imperial policy, the conflicting instructions he received upon that subject are placed side by side :—

MR. CARDWELL.

*March 9, 1866.*

I shall rejoice in any safe and practical exertion of your moral authority either by the establishment of an Agent at Thaba Bosigo, or by other means. . . .

LORD CARNARVON.

*July 25, 1866.*

I do not think any advantage will be secured by appointing an officer to reside with the Basutos. Our connection with the tribe should be strictly limited to a friendly mediation such as can lead to no closer or entangling relationship. I am aware that my predecessor sanctioned your making such an appointment, . . . but I shall be glad if you can abstain from doing so. . . .

Sir Philip Wodehouse followed up his recommendation to the Secretary of State by an offer on January 20, to President Brand, to negotiate between the Free State and Basuto in the hope of promoting an equitable peace. He assumed that both sides had suffered heavily and that each wanted a guarantee for the future rather than a struggle about the past. He allowed himself to hope that by mediation he could attain that object, for the Basuto had persistently pleaded to be taken under British protection and would defer to advice. The offer was made purely in the cause of humanity and civilization.

The President laid the matter before his Volksraad and on February 23 replied. After reviewing all the circumstances regarding the war and its genesis, he was authorized to state that the Government and people of the Orange Free State felt that a solid and substantial peace could only be obtained by prosecuting the war with vigour. Peace by mediation would not produce that effect with savages who had invariably shown utter disregard for treaties and promises. Therefore they felt unable at present to accept His Excellency's offer.

During the progress of these negotiations the war was kept going in a desultory manner. In retaliation for the worrying by small commandos the Bataung under Molitsane made a daring raid up to the precincts of the town of Winburg on January 8, killing a Boer and his son found on the outskirts and a few native cattle herds, and sweeping off the entire stock pasturing on the commonage. General Fick happening to be camped in the neighbourhood went to the rescue with

200 burghers, drove off the enemy and recaptured all the stock except 100 valuable horses. The town was subjected to several attacks of this nature during the next month.

On January 22 a large force estimated at 3,000 hailing from Molapo's attacked the town of Bethlehem from three sides with the intention, as confessed by a prisoner, of burning the place and putting the inhabitants to the sword. Commandant De Villiers with a patrol of 125 burghers and some Batlokoa allies galloped to its relief, and after a sturdy fight beat off the attack, killing, according to report, 200 in a vigorous pursuit. A young Boer was found murdered in the environs, and Commandant Senekal, one of the bravest of the pioneers, was shot dead in the pursuit at the mouth of a cave. The same day Commandant Joubert believing a body of raiders were secreted at Mekuatleng rushed the mission station, killing ten and confiscating the cattle of the Christians. Commandants Webster and Piet Wessels with less success engaged Poshudi's people who menaced their laager near Bushman's Kop. Thirty of them were killed but the enemy could not be dislodged from the mountain.

The month of February saw the Free State field force largely augmented by burghers returning from furlough and animated by patriotic sentiments roused in the Volksraad by the President's speeches and by resolutions passed after declining the Governor's mediation to pursue the war without flinching. The army was reorganized. The total strength of 2,000 was formed into four columns of about 500 each





Photo by Capt. French.

KETANE FALLS AND GORGE.



who, having regard to the fact that domestic misunderstandings hindered the Basuto from moving any longer in large masses, were to act independently from central laagers at Harrismith, Winburg, Mekuatliling and Bushman's Kop. The scheme was to bustle the enemy by rapid manœuvres, go for their cattle and give them no rest. It had the effect of driving all outlying units of Basuto opposition across the Caledon, compelling them to fall into defensive positions on the higher plateaux beyond, thus narrowing the theatre of operations.

The campaign took a decided turn when on February 23 a flying column under Fick of 546 picked burghers and 61 native scouts, without transport or provisions other than could be carried on horseback, started on a precarious expedition to penetrate the Drakensburg with the idea of threatening the Basuto from behind their formidable frontal defences, at the same time menacing their cattle posts where great herds were clustered.

It was a favourable season of the year for the stratagem, the grass being still nourishing for horses and the worst rains over. Nevertheless it was a bold undertaking as the nights were intensely cold and the men had no covering. Skirmishing along the upper Caledon for some miles, the column ascended a pass near Butha Buthe, the ancient residence of Moshesh, and were soon encamped at the Mont-aux-Sources, getting a first view of the magnificent panorama, with Natal nestling below on the far side. Thence, being in no mood for the study of scenery, they skirted sharply along the Orange River for a considerable

distance capturing cattle and shooting without mercy the defenceless herds, thirty of whom fell at different times. It is difficult to distinguish this form of killing from the occasional acts of violence perpetrated by Basuto raiders on defenceless persons, excepting of course those cases where treachery was employed. All such incidents were deplorable; but they must be ranked together. At one point only did the column meet with opposition when a body of the enemy stated in the report to number 2,000 made a sudden attack from a masked position. This being repulsed, the column retired leisurely towards their laager near Winburg, having taken much booty which owing to the difficulty of driving down dwindled to 2,722 cattle, 184 horses and 3,500 sheep.

The result of this successful expedition was twofold :

(1) It proved to the Boers that strong well-organized parties could safely venture amongst the strongholds of the inner mountains, and to the Basuto that they were no longer immune from attack on that side; neither could their cattle any longer find sanctuary there.

(2) It had immediate effect. On March 4, just after General Fick returned to Leribe, Molapo sent to beg for an armistice pending surrender and terms of peace he was prepared to make on his own account. This was granted and his son Joel given up as a hostage.

Molapo lost no time in notifying the action he had taken to Moshesh who, staggered at the blow, besought General Fick to make the armistice universal in order that an effort might be made to bring about a general

peace. These overtures led to a suspension of hostilities all round until the arrival, March 21, on the border of President Brand and his Executive Council. Negotiations with Moshesh however were fruitless, he regarding the terms offered as tantamount to obliteration of his tribe.

Consequently, active hostilities were resumed by the Free State columns. Commandant Wessels carried out a swift movement with great dash in central Basutoland. Sweeping past the "Hell" devastating the villages everywhere found he swung round through Molomo's Hoek towards Cornet Spruit, beat off several attacks and returned to his laager near the Caledon laden with booty. Similar activity directed from Harrismith was less fortunate. Commandant Dreyer, a man of conspicuous character and Chairman of the Volksraad, while returning from a raid at Witzie's Hoek was ambushed. Most of his patrol escaped ; but he and a few burghers forming the vanguard were cut off and assegaied.

In the interval President Brand proceeded to Ficksburg where on March 26 he entered into a Treaty with Molapo who signed away his birthright.

He agreed :—

1. To recognize the various Proclamations by which his country was annexed to the Free State ;
2. To evacuate all territory beyond the Caledon River ;
3. To pay 2,000 cattle as a fine ;
4. To become a subject of the Free State and receive a Landdrost whose orders he would obey ;

5. To abstain from all hostile acts, from aiding or abetting the other Basuto chiefs, from sheltering them or their cattle ;

6. To surrender a son and chieftain as hostages for good behaviour.

This treaty of Molapo proved what appeared to be the first step towards capitulation and dismemberment of the Basuto nation from whom several hundred square miles of coveted land were thus abstracted. Moshesh realized that the desertion of his son gave the Free State the essential base from which operations could be easily directed against Thaba Bosigo and the country be overrun. His flank was in fact completely turned and the patrols were already harassing him to death. He therefore summoned a Pitso of his people and resolved with their consent that the safest course was at all hazards to come to such terms as would lead to the disbandment of the Free State forces, thus allowing him to harvest the autumn crops pending a resumption of hostilities at a later date if and when the circumstances were favourable.

With that view he made overtures to the President who arranged to meet him on April 2 at the old burgher camp under Thaba Bosigo. As he was too ill, or frightened, to attend in person he sent a selection of his sons and sub-chiefs to represent him at the meeting. The President wisely abstained from suggesting impossible conditions like those imposed in August 1865 relative to enormous fines, surrender of arms and independence, and evacuation of Thaba

Bosigo. He was too eager for peace to risk failure by straining too far.

On April 3 the parties in conference concluded a formal Agreement which was immediately sent up the mountain to Moshesh who attached his signature and seal.

TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT OF  
THE ORANGE FREE STATE AND THE CHIEF  
MOSHESH

Whereas the Chief Moshesh has signified in writing to His Honour the President of the Orange Free State his desire to open negotiations for peace, and has accepted as the basis of such negotiations the acknowledgment of the territory annexed to the Orange Free State during the war ; and whereas the Chief Moshesh has declared that he is too indisposed to proceed to the place of meeting appointed by his Honour the President, which declaration has been certified by the medical man at the camp before Thaba Bosigo, after examination held by him, to be in conformity with truth ; and whereas the Chief Moshesh has in consequence thereof granted a full power in writing, dated Thaba Bosigo 3rd April 1866, to his brother Paulus Moperi, together with his son Nehemiah, to assist him in the same, in order to establish the conditions of peace, under promise of approval and ratification of the same. It is therefore agreed between His Honour the President of the Orange Free State and the said Paulus Moperi, assisted by the said Nehemiah Moshesh, regarding the following Articles :—

*Article I.*—The Chief Moshesh acknowledges the territory annexed by proclamation of Commandant-General J. J. J. Fick to the Orange Free State, which proclamation was later confirmed by His Honour the President, with advice and consent of the Executive Council, and finally ratified by the Volksraad on 7th February 1866, to be territory of the Orange Free State, and to constitute thereafter a portion of the same, the boundary line between the Orange Free State and Basutoland being henceforth fixed as follows : From Bamboesplaats near Pampoenspruit, with a straight line to about three miles to the east of Letsie's new town ; thence with a straight line northwards to Caledon River ; up along Caledon River to the Putisani, up along Putisani to its source, and thence along the Drakensberg to the Natal British boundary.

*Article II.*—The Chief Moshesh binds himself to cause the proclaimed territory, specified in Article I., to be immediately evacuated by his people ; such of them as fail to comply with that condition shall be regarded as enemies, and shall be expelled by the armed forces of the Orange Free State without any hostile interference whatever on the part of the Chief Moshesh or his people.

*Article III.*—The boundary line mentioned in Article I. shall be beacons off by one or more Government land surveyors, previous notice whereof shall be given by His Honour the President to the Chief Moshesh, the latter having the option to appoint one or two representatives to be present at such beaconing off.



*Article IV.*—The Chief Moshesh acknowledges the Chief Molapo and his people as subjects of the Orange Free State, conformably to Article VI. of the treaty of peace concluded between His Honour the President and the said Chief on 26th March 1866.

*Article V.*—The Chief Moshesh binds himself to deliver at the camp of Chief Commandant Wessels 1,000 head of large cattle as war expenses, and 2,000 head of large cattle as compensation for injury done to the Orange Free State; 80 head of said cattle to be delivered on the 4th April 1866 before sunset, and the remainder at the latest on the 11th April 1866.

*Article VI.*—The Chief Moshesh binds himself to deliver out to the Orange Free State government, on production of a warrant signed by competent authority, such criminals as may be demanded by the same of the Chief Moshesh.

*Article VII.*—As a guarantee for the due, faithful and full performance of the stipulations of Article V., the Chief Moshesh binds himself to send to the camp of Commandant Wessels two of his sons as hostages, who shall remain there until the delivery of the cattle mentioned in Article V. shall have taken place in full.

*Article VIII.*—The Chief Moshesh binds himself to take care that in future his subjects do not enter or pass through the territory of the Orange Free State otherwise than in conformity with such conditions and regulations as shall be enacted by the Volksraad.

*Article IX.*—The Chief Moshesh acknowledges that the Chief Moroko, who has been an ally of the Orange Free State in the war against the Basutos, with his people, is included in this treaty, and binds himself in no respect to molest them on the ground of their participation in the war.

*Article X.*—All Basuto captains and their people subject to and under the control of the Chief Moshesh, with the exception of the Chief Molapo and his subordinate captains, are included in this treaty.

*Article XI.*—This treaty of peace shall be signed independently of the parties mentioned in the preamble by the Chief Moshesh, his son Letsie, and his other sons, captains and councillors now present at Thaba Bosigo.

*Article XII.*—All previous treaties and conventions between the Orange Free State and the Chief Moshesh are hereby declared to be revoked.

*Article XIII.*—This treaty is subject to ratification by the Volksraad, in conformity with the constitution of the Orange Free State.

Thus done and subscribed the third day of April 1866.

(Signed) T. H. BRAND, President O.F.S.

„ PAULUS MOPERI.

„ NEHEMIAH.

Approved and ratified at Thaba Bosigo.

Seal and mark X of Moshesh.

Seal and mark X of Letsie.

Seal and mark X of Masupha.

Seal and mark X of Poshudi.

It will be noticed that this Instrument revoked all previous Treaties between Basutoland and Free State.

That same evening the assembled burghers were addressed by President Brand who bade them kneel and offer their thanks to God for the success they had achieved. Then followed a scene of great rejoicing which the disbanded army echoed on its way home, enrapturing the whole country with hopes of permanent tranquillity.

Nevertheless there were some who doubted whether the horizon was as clear as it appeared to be. Certain features in the negotiations kindled suspicion that the diplomatic strategy of Moshesh had again served him well. There was something mysterious in the mental attitude of a man who could with almost feverish haste consent to terms that left him practically at the mercy of a hated adversary who was allowed to depart in triumph.

The misprision of Molapo had paralysed him for the moment and cost the nation not only a large area but the cream of the agricultural land.

Was there any way of retrieving the mischief?

## CHAPTER XX

With disappointment . . .  
Closing at last in darkness and despair.

COWPER.

Much indignation roused by harsh treatment of French Protestant Missionaries who are expelled from Basutoland: this is a heavy blow for Basutoland which is deprived of civilized help: Mr. Buchanan becomes a champion. The Basuto fret under the Treaties and appeal to the High Commissioner who is powerless to help but entreats H.M. Government to intervene. In despair Basuto offer themselves to Natal, but become subjects of the Free State which renounces them hurriedly. Hostilities renewed. Taantjesberg and the Qeme taken by storm. The nation in extremities. H.M. Government steps in

1866—1868

PUBLIC opinion was much stirred early in 1866 by the attitude of the Free State Volksraad towards the French Protestant Missionaries in Basutoland. Upon petitions signed by 350 burghers supported by all the commandants in the field it was resolved in February upon the motion of Mr. J. N. De Wet, notwithstanding the entreaties of President Brand, that all the missionaries be expelled from the territory on March 1 and prohibited under bond from

either directly or indirectly communicating with the Basuto. The reasons alleged for this extreme measure were that they had deviated from their true functions as simple ministers of the Gospel and harnessed themselves to politics in such a manner as to render their presence a menace to the interests of the Free State as well as to the maintenance of discipline over the savages.

This order involved the abrupt removal of thirteen missionaries with their entire families who were thus compelled to abandon the labours of thirty-two years, relinquishing not only the great work of regeneration which under most adverse circumstances had been conducted with astonishing success, but all their property and buildings of considerable value acquired by means of public contributions from France and England.

The allegations are refuted by every official letter written by them and by the record of every public conference they took part in. They were persuaded reluctantly at times to write letters on behalf of the chiefs who, though some were half educated, could not convey in their own words the meaning really intended. Often enough the crude sentences composed by the chiefs in the best sense they could command were construed as insulting or obscure. It was to avert or correct misunderstandings that they would induce the missionaries to transcribe for them in language corresponding in almost every case to that which they habitually used. In so doing the missionaries fulfilled a high purpose, responding to the dictates of humanity in giving honest aid to a people powerless

through ignorance to express themselves fittingly, or in representing a grievance or defending a cause.

Occasionally a British Governor or President refused to receive native letters at all, demanding in place thereof verbal messages by reputable envoys, forgetful of the fact that but few persons in those days were competent to render correct interpretations through the native language. It was notorious that most of the negotiations between Free State officials and the Basuto were conducted in kitchen Dutch of which the natives had the barest smattering. Numbers of letters printed in the official records are in that language and it is not too much to say that no single native of Basutoland had more than a vague conception of their true meaning.

Apart altogether from the wide civilizing influence exercised through the establishment of twelve principal stations, many subsidiaries, and the employment of medical missionaries who counteracted the iniquities of native doctors and witchcraft, the tendency had been, besides converting thousands from heathenism, to elevate the masses as a whole from the low condition prevailing in 1833. Moreover, there is not the slightest doubt that, during the years the Free State stood at the mercy of the wilder factions who could have laid it waste, their passions were moderated by their pastors when temptation was sore. If then these missionaries were jealous of the fruits of their labours; if they demanded respect for their humble cloisters and glebes, and immunity from violence for their defenceless converts, they claimed only what was recognized under the conventions of civilized nations.



HEATHEN GIRLS.





They were sometimes betrayed by the unknown presence in hiding at the mission stations of belligerents which brought upon them destruction and spoliation. But they often suffered upon mere supposition and were embittered in consequence. Yet withal, they set a firm example of loyalty and respect for any government having the right to command it and faithfully counselled for good those to whom they were dedicated.

It was natural that their summary expulsion should draw indignant remonstrance. The first to appeal to the High Commissioner was the Rev. Hamilton Dyke, a Scotch divine allied to the Paris Society. Writing as a British-born subject from Aliwal North, where he was banished in February 1866, he warmly resented the dishonour thrust upon him after twenty-six years' labour in Basutoland, and the injustice inflicted upon him through injury to character and property. Messrs. Rolland, Mabile, Coillard and Maitin poured forth in piercing tones their grief and sufferings under eviction. The Consul for France in Cape Town, the Ambassador in London, the Secretary of State and various philanthropical societies in England were all moved to champion their cause. All agreed that it was an outrage to condemn a body of high-minded men without even the opportunity to exculpate themselves ; but none could remove the decree.

Some months later under pressure of public opinion the Free State, upon the recommendation of a Commission, agreed to let the missionaries return under the condition that they should pay for each station (their own buildings) the sum of £100, and then be

entitled to an area of 1,500 morgen of ground adjoining, provided that such buildings and land should be regarded as their personal property, to be sold if desired, but no longer be utilized for mission purposes. The offer was unanimously rejected as calculated, instead of being an act of justice, to make them feel more bitterly the wrongs they laboured under ; they declined to be treated as merchants or farmers or to barter for personal advantage the high duties of their calling.

All remonstrances were however without avail. The outcasts and their families were constrained to suffer and to scatter through South Africa in various directions, thus bereaving the Basuto of moral advice, of civilized guidance and of the one solitary factor working for emancipation from repugnant usages. In perpetrating this folly, which imposed an unjust penalty upon their adversaries, the Free State roused a great deal of animus against itself both in Europe and South Africa that caused sympathetic reaction in favour of the Basuto. It was the work of ignorant legislators who, not content with girding at President Brand's expostulations, overruled by vote his better judgment.

By the date agreed upon, viz. May 11, 1866, both Molapo and Moshesh so far complied with the terms of their Treaties as to hand over respectively the fines of 2,000 and 3,000 head of cattle.

When particulars of the Treaties of Peace affecting Molapo and Moshesh reached the High Commissioner he addressed the President in despatches of April 21 and 30, directing attention to the responsibility of the

Free State, now Molapo had become their subject, for liquidation of his debt to Natal in further satisfaction of Ramanella's raid. He took advantage of the opportunity to state the impression produced by these treaties on his own mind and that of the other South African Colonies and native races beyond the borders, and to ask for explanation with a view perhaps to modification. Was there, he asked, any guarantee for peace and good behaviour if the Basuto, distressed and discontented, were to be driven from many of their finest lands, cooped up within narrow limits and placed in close proximity to farms about to be given out over their heads in the ceded territory? It pointed to further disorder which the Cape Colony where all the natives were then quiet would be compelled to share; he was induced therefore to ask for reconsideration of the terms and reduction in the extent of territory expropriated.

Describing the situation to the Secretary of State on May 12, His Excellency enlarged upon the gravity of recent changes. There was a distinct danger that Basutoland, once within the sphere of Free State influence, the objective might be to push through Kaffirland and secure a port on the sea-coast—a measure decidedly inimical to British interests. It was questionable whether the Free State should continue to be permitted to acquire arms and ammunition through Colonial ports in carrying out a policy which we regarded as highly objectionable and prejudicial. For these and other potent reasons affecting the satisfactory administration of South African affairs he was of opinion that the terms of the late treaties should be

construed as positively unfriendly in their relation to Great Britain.

The Secretary of State, Lord Carnarvon, in a despatch of July 28 participated in the apprehension of complications that might, as indicated above, be brought about and approved the views expressed in the Governor's representation on the subject to President Brand.

The President replied on May 16, deprecating any idea of his Government being unable to maintain order in the territory lately taken from Basutoland. That territory was conquered ; its annexation was recognized as a *sine qua non* to the negotiations for peace ; the law of personal occupation by burghers to whom land was awarded would be rigidly enforced and would be found to answer all the good results anticipated from it. In a subsequent letter he repudiated all liability for the payment of Molapo's indemnity to Natal. Sir Philip Wodehouse abstained from further correspondence at that stage, observing in a letter of May 28 that, though his convictions remained unaltered, he trusted his apprehensions would prove to be unfounded.

By an ordinance passed by the Volksraad on May 23, power was taken to make and alter from time to time Regulations for the management, by a Commandant, of Molapo's people living in the Leribe district he had ceded. Part of that country, parcelled out in farms to burghers, was to be immediately vacated. The remainder was held as Native Reserve within which Free State law should prevail when necessary ; but the chief was allowed jurisdiction in

civil cases subject to the right of appeal. In that Reserve no white people were to take up ground without permission of the President, or to sell liquor. To the Dutch Reformed Church privilege was granted to establish, if it wished, a missionary on the very ground from which the French Protestant, M. Coillard, had been unceremoniously driven. By this latter arrangement it seemed to the natives that the Gospel was a thing to be administered, rather than taught, on political lines.

A further ordinance passed on June 15 made provision for the disarming of all natives in the new territory outside the Reserve, the registration of their horses and stock, and for the compulsory use of passes by them and visiting natives.

Discussions in the Volksraad and press prior to these and other legislative enactments brought home clearly to the Basuto that it was sought to incorporate them in the Free State system and bring them under its laws. So distasteful was this idea that within three weeks of the signing of peace a fresh agitation sprung up for seeking again the Queen's protection. As the strength and influence of Moshesh were visibly waning, the people deemed it desirable to urge his eldest son Letsie to take the reins as Paramount Chief and approach the High Commissioner on the subject.

Accordingly, in letters of April 26 and May 11, Letsie appealed pathetically to be adopted. He attributed the treaties they were forced into as due to the treacherous defection of Molapo who was one of the principal hands with which they were wrestling with the Boers; nevertheless, it was no peace but

only a plucking of their feathers ; it was true that cattle had been paid and promises given ; but Molapo would never be able to lie down with the lion that had eaten him, nor would the prairie fire that had passed over Basutoland be healing medicine ; the strength of his people had been taxed severely, but a little still remained ; they were ready to pay taxes for the support of a Resident or the cost of government—do anything in fact to get the protection of the Queen into whose arms they threw themselves, praying also for the return of their missionaries without whom to rely upon for the interpretation of letters and advice they were forlorn.

The High Commissioner with a heavy heart was obliged under his instructions from England to turn a deaf ear to these and similar entreaties. Letsie in despair then turned his attention to Natal, sending important messengers bearing a petition dated July 15, 1866, praying that Colony, as the Cape had refused, “to take over the whole government of the Basuto nation, that is to say, all our claims and personal rights with those of our country, so that we may in all concerns, duties and privilege become the faithful and true subjects of Her Majesty’s Government.”

Mr. Shepstone, Secretary for Natal Native Affairs, having satisfied himself of the *bona fides* of the deputation and petition, wrote a memorandum on September 4 distinctly favourable to it. He represented that Moshesh, with consent of his people, was ready to surrender his independence, to be governed as the Natal natives were, to pay taxes and to conform to regulations ; the Basuto did not feel themselves

unequal to a prolonged contest with the Free State but were unable to contend with it together with combined levies from the Cape and Natal who notoriously evaded proclamations of neutrality and transformed the balance of power. He (Mr. Shepstone) had no hesitation in recommending incorporation of Basutoland on the grounds that :—

It was the centre of all native political agitation ;

Its control would place in the hands of Natal the key of all South African politics so far as natives were concerned ;

With Basutoland under direct rule, the interests of the British Government in South Africa would be immensely strengthened and we should be in a position to dictate measures to all the neighbouring tribes, which might tend to their advancement and prosperity and add greatly to the prospects of peace for the future.

The Governor of Natal in a despatch of September 8 to the High Commissioner heartily endorsed the recommendation which the latter felt it his imperative duty *at present* to reject in view of the repeated intimations he had received from Her Majesty's Government objecting to the establishment of closer relations with Basutoland.

Some months of anxiety passed. Then, on January 7, 1867, Letsie renewed in equivocal form by letter a half-hearted application made in the previous year to the Free State that the Basuto might be received as its subjects. The letter had not a genuine

ring about it. It seemed as if the writer was trying to gain time whilst the British Government, whose communications though faltering were sympathetic, made up its mind. Though evidently written in desperation there was a certain kick in it : the Maluti mountains, it said, not habitable, were alone left for a large population daily increased by crowding in under pressure ; they did not want war but desired to live and, if obliged to take refuge in the rocks, they could not be blamed for putting their backs against a wall like wild animals. President Brand simply replied that it would receive consideration if the Basuto by their future conduct and respect for promises and treaties justified it.

The drift of affairs was now obviously bad. The land ceded by treaty was bought up largely by speculators who thought more of the rise in value than finding tenants. Owing to signs of unrest farmers did not take up occupation freely. Consequently, the Basuto observing the ground they had been forced to quit remaining untenanted returned in squads to cultivate and hunt. Stealing became rife and the sanguine hopes of peace entertained by the Free Staters were again withered. The natives fretting under the barter of land wrenched from them became irritable and defiant. Reporting on February 18, 1867, to the High Commissioner, Commissioner Burnet said :—

“ The Free State is on the threshold of another war. The whole of the new territory has been abandoned by those who had ventured to take possession, and I am certainly informed that there is not a single



purchaser or grantee east of the Caledon. . . . A commando of Boers is assembled at the Platberg for the purpose of taking possession of the Qeme mountain which has caused the Basuto to endeavour to send a strong force to preoccupy it."

Ex-President Hoffmann, whose natural sympathies were with the Boers, was unable to suppress his feelings. He wrote from the conquered territory on February 20 to the Commissioner :—

"The country is now in a miserable condition . . . nearly depopulated. . . . This is the consequence of the wretched plan of 'the wall of flesh.' Without police or protection of any sort, the Boers fly from the goblins which they see from afar. I and my family leave this to-morrow for the other side of Bloemfontein, on account of the things which shall very shortly happen. It is rumoured in confidence that all the green grain in the conquered territory is to be trodden down and the Basutos driven out. . . . I have given the Government advice what they must do to prevent war, and to recover the sympathy of all good men, which they have at present lost. . . . I fear the consequences should this hellish plan of destroying, rooting out and driving away the Basutos be persevered in. Where can they go? But I still look with hope for a change of plan. . . . Be so good as to tell Sir Philip Wodehouse what I have written. . . ."

Seeing the military preparations by the Free State, the Basuto chiefs resolved in Pitso to offer all the resistance in their power. Their plans, formed upon

the belief that they were entering the last stage of a life-and-death struggle, were that :—

Moshesh should stand fast at Thaba Bosigo with the veterans, and garner up provisions there ;

Masupha, together with his brothers and Lerothodi the eldest son of Letsie, now heard of for the first time, were to provision and hold the Qeme mountain, a fortress of great natural strength towering above open country athwart the Caledon between Matsieng and Thaba Bosigo ;

Poshudi to garrison Taantjesberg, a barrier commanding the roads to South Basutoland ;

Makwai to command the mountain force and guard the hinterland ;

Moirosi to hold the Orange River side, gaining if possible the alliance of the Cape Colonial tribes under Kreli, and Faku of Pondoland.

The design of the Free State was to drive the Basuto entirely out of the ceded territory and to devastate all crops within reach before they could be gathered in the next two months ; the purpose of the Basuto was to defend their crops at all hazards and to meet the first aggressive movements by sallying out from their rallying-points. If the Free State could destroy the harvest they might bring the Basuto to their knees ; if the latter could save it their resisting power was indefinitely prolonged.

At this point of the crisis the cause of Basutoland was ardently espoused by Mr. David Dale Buchanan, a colonist of thirty-eight years' standing, a recent

member of the Natal Legislature, at one time Attorney-General for that Colony. In a letter of March 4, offering his services freely to Moshesh, he observed that the British Government, once ever ready to stand by him, had now left him to his fate ; in the absence of fair statements it was natural that the tide of sympathy should be turned against Basutoland ; nothing, he confessed, could be more outrageous than the expulsion of the missionaries ; that any government should have gone to the length of uprooting Christian effort and, having unblushingly seized the private property of the missionaries, hunted them away was so startling a fact as to throw discredit upon all its acts and statements ; it was an outrage in excess of any committed by the natives ; no government capable of such an action could be believed or trusted.

This impulsive intervention of Mr. Buchanan as self-constituted legal adviser for Basutoland was consoling to Moshesh but most displeasing to those in sympathy with the Free State, who realized that it was not so easy to lay an interdict upon a skilful lawyer as to expel missionaries guilty only of compassion towards people powerless to represent their cause in its proper light. But if the excessive zeal of Mr. Buchanan led him to write indiscreetly to Moshesh, he was the means of publishing to the world matter required to balance the formation of public opinion. In that respect alone he performed under much odium an important service, calling attention particularly of the Crown to its political blemishes and obligations. The following extracts of his letter dated March 27, 1867, to the High Commissioner, expressed

sentiments that required ventilation in judging the merits of the quarrel:—

*Letter from MR. D. D. BUCHANAN to the*  
HIGH COMMISSIONER

“PIETERMARITZBURG, NATAL, 27th March, 1867.

“ . . . When recently a member of the local Legislative Council, I suggested and urged the advisability of Consuls being appointed in the Free State, the Transvaal, Moshesh's country, etc., it was generally admitted that the measure was one in favour of which much might be urged. . . . The main argument, however, against the proposal was its expense.

“It is, of course, easy to account for the fact that no such measures have been adopted by the Imperial Government, as the trouble and expense of the South African possessions are probably deemed far greater than the Colonies are intrinsically worth. The risk of their expansion, with the chance of further demands for troops, is therefore a simple and indisputable answer to the inquiries as to the cause of Imperial indifference. The actual abandonment of a part of a conquered territory is illustration sufficient of this policy. But while it may be deplored that such should be the case, and that England's high mission of promoting civilization and protecting the oppressed is no longer so prominent in her policy, the current of events must be watched, and measures taken to ensure peace, and prevent the rampancy of either civilized or savage barbarism, when the Europeans come in contact with Native tribes. If Government will not interfere

it can scarcely be contended that those who foresee the dangers, and feel anxious to interpose in the interests of peace, and for the assistance and protection of the Native tribes, should refrain from exerting their influence.

“The freedom with which the Boers and British subjects of the adjoining state have been allowed to wage war on the Basutos,—the fact that no influence has been brought to bear to prevent the mischiefs of that contest,—that its settlement is obviously only partial,—that the Natives, instead of being accepted and treated as subjects, are crowded back on their neighbours, until existence becomes impossible, and the most ferocious retaliation is certain, if not to be desired as perfectly justifiable :—these facts all point to another war, and invoke the intervention of reasonable men who will take the trouble to reflect, and are endowed with a sense of justice.

“At present the Basutos are without a press through which to communicate their wrongs and appeal for aid to those who love justice as well as peace. They have no authorized agency to give utterance to their claims to consideration, and through whom they might be influenced and restrained or remonstrated with and rebuked. Their enemies, on the contrary, lose no opportunity of vindicating themselves, and securing the sympathy, support and help of their fellow-countrymen. This alone is a wrong that must work its cure in mischievous results. Then, again, our Government lends itself to facilitate the supply of ammunition to the Free State, while it declares a neutrality, which leaves the Basutos defenceless, and

exposes them to the barbarity of a well-armed and heartily encouraged foe. Every feeling of justice revolts at such a state of things. . . .

“In view of these facts it has pressed itself on my attention that as the missionaries are, by some strange implication of moral, religious and political principle, expected to remain tacit observers of Native wrongs while laying out their lives for the amelioration of their people's condition, that it is the duty of those who sympathize with the work of these good men to come forward and take up the Native's welfare, where the Minister's functions are supposed to cease. . . .

“My present intention is to open up a communication with Moshesh and to tender my services to give publicity to his political views ; . . . and in addition to this, openly and confidently to lend him every assistance in my power consistently with the legality of the undertaking. . . .

“Seeing that, on the one hand, there is reason to fear that the Basutos are exposed to injustice, if not to extermination, and that, on the other hand, the inhabitants of the Free State are becoming debased and demoralized by a policy towards the Natives calculated to destroy their sense of justice and invoke a fearful retribution, I am venturing to attempt to interpose, to avert, if possible, the consequences of such a course of events.

“If I succeed in assisting Moshesh to hold his own, and resist unjust encroachments, it will be a means of checking the cupidity of his neighbours, and may tend to arouse the attention of the Imperial Govern-



Photo by T. Lindsay Fairclough.

QHILOANE, FROM THABA BOSIGO.





ment, and to cause it to see the necessity of returning to its former enlightened policy. . . .

"I may confidently appeal to Your Excellency's knowledge of the state of the Basuto country, as to the fact that the people might be taken under British supremacy, without the slightest apprehension of any expenditure for their government being required, that would not be amply and cheerfully met by the tribes themselves. Never was there a field more ripe for the harvest of civilization than is this nation, and never could England fulfil her mission with greater prospect of promoting civilization, preventing oppression and war, without the risk of any outlay whatever. . . ."

In the middle of March 1867 hostilities recommenced. The Free State forces in two main divisions directed their energies as proposed to the destruction of ripening crops and the ejection of all natives found within ceded territory.

Commandant Kolbe on the 28th finding 60 or 70 Basuto on the Viervoet mountain near Ladybrand attacked with 200 men, killing 13 and laying waste the locality. From the 28th to April 5, General Fick in a recorded diary describes how in a series of patrols he dealt out destruction to life and property. Similarly other Commandants devastated the country in every direction capturing booty and forcing the Basuto back upon their mountain bulwarks. One of these excursions with artillery directed against the Qeme mountain was repulsed so vigorously as almost to meet with disaster. All along the line these harassing

tactics were pursued with such persistence that Letsie despairing of the harvest upon which his people relied for the coming winter's subsistence, despairing also of British intervention, informed President Brand that, as poverty stared them in the face, he and his people had no option but to succumb and become Free State subjects on any terms if the devastation of crops was stayed.

Whether it was a *ruse* to gain time or not, it succeeded. The Volksraad in secret session of May 10, 1867, after considering the situation passed a resolution agreeing to accept the suppliants. That meant to all intents and purposes the annexation of the greater part of Basutoland to the Free State. Shortly afterwards Paulus Moperi surrendered all his rights at Witzies Hoek and was allotted a diminished area in that locality for residence. Taking advantage of momentary ascendancy, orders from Bloemfontein directed the removal from the border of the fractious Bataung clan under Molitsane to a location set apart near Kronstadt. The collapse of opposition and partition of the country now appeared complete.

A Republican document was then issued setting forth the terms for admission of Letsie and his people as subjects of the Free State. Its general effect was :—

1. The preamble recited that, whereas Letsie had ignored the treaty by which his people were to evacuate the conquered territory, yet there were extenuating circumstances in his favour making it possible to pardon him in consideration of proofs of his friendly disposition. Therefore a tract of land in Basutoland

was *granted* to him and his adherents for occupation. (The limits as defined embraced an extent of mountainous region with little of agricultural value, but included the ground pertaining to the French Mission at Morija).

2. An officer to be styled Commandant would reside in this tract to carry out the orders of Government under regulations similar to those in force in Molapo's district.

3. Letsie to be responsible for the payment within seven years (the time declared by him as prescribed) of the balance of fine to Natal for Ramanella's raid ; in default, steps would be taken to distrain it.

4. These stipulations to be of force and effect only if Letsie abjures all hostile intentions, begs forgiveness for his contumacy and yields up a son and councillor as pledges.

Letsie subscribed the declaration on May 22, and sent hostages who were of no rank and who, after remaining a short time in durance at Bloemfontein, took their leave without asking for it.

There was something forbidding about the whole transaction which had in it no enduring qualities. The legislators at Bloemfontein were blind to the true position of affairs ; their imagination was at fault in not realizing that the penning up of an indomitable race in this fashion must either be followed up by extermination or would result in violent reaction. Under the delusion that all was well a nervous communication was sent—not to the High Commissioner, but to the Colonial Secretary, Cape Town, for his

information—stating that Letsie and the Basuto had been absorbed into the Free State and were *conceded an extent of territory*.

The High Commissioner, disturbed at the information, replied immediately on June 20 repudiating the seven years' prescription for payment of the Natal indemnity. He went on to say that these large acquisitions of territory and population by the Free State tended to produce such important changes in the political position of the several powers in that part of South Africa as would fully warrant a claim on the part of the British Government, should necessity arise, of a right to reconsider the bearings of the Convention entered into with the Orange Free State in February 1854.

Moshesh also roused himself to write to the President averring that he had not given his country away; it belonged not to him but to his people; he could not buy their lives with the land of their inheritance where they and their forefathers were born; besides, they had nowhere to go and were desperate.

President Brand on July 24 curtly acknowledged without discussion the Governor's admonition. But, on September 4, he notified a sudden reversal of policy. He regretted to state that almost from the very time the commandos were withdrawn, Letsie failed to comply with his written agreement of May 22, refusing to receive the Commandant appointed over him, or to fulfil the promises and obligations he entered upon. Therefore the Volksraad had resolved to consider the agreement with Letsie as "cancelled"

and it became necessary to call out again the burgher forces to assert their rights.

Shortly before this decision, indignation had been excited by the murders of one Bush, for some years domiciled in Basutoland, a renegade Englishman who had fought for and betrayed both sides, and of a young Dutchman named Krijnauw. In each case Moshesh refused to extradite the murderers, claiming that they were amenable to his jurisdiction although as a matter of fact both deeds were committed within the ceded territory.

In order to avenge these murders and other violations of established rights, the Free State army was again mobilized in two divisions under Commandants G. Joubert and Pansegrouw. These were split up into fairly strong mounted regiments and ordered to scour the country destroying every vestige of food that could be found. These guerilla operations were successful inasmuch as the Basuto after losing lives in every engagement were driven to retire on the mountains. They had gathered and secreted a remnant of the late crops; but future prospects had to be considered, so that, as the patrols moved on, they re-occupied the ground hurriedly planting mealies and millet and occasionally cutting down stragglers or despatch-riders.

Operations of this character were carried on for some weeks until an expedition was organized by Pansegrouw for a determined assault on Makwai's mountain where the enemy were provisioned and well ensconced. The seizure and occupation of this stronghold was a feature of strategic importance. Lying

folded in rough ground a dozen or more miles behind Matsieng and Thaba Bosigo, its geographical position threatened in a remarkable way most of the arteries leading to the inner mountain retreats. It was therefore necessary that plans should be conceived with caution and executed with determination, seeing that failure for the attacking party meant almost certain annihilation if it were foiled and had to run the gauntlet. Moreover, upon success of the movement a good deal depended as Molapo, who had for some time wavered in his professed allegiance to the Boers, and other chiefs would govern themselves in a great measure by the result.

Chief Commandant Pansegrouw had for the exploit about 500 white men and 100 Batlokoa allies. With them he moved rapidly across the Caledon under cover of darkness on the evening of September 24 to assail the mountain from three sides. Commandant Ward with sixty volunteers, mostly of English extraction, and the native auxiliaries—this party forming the forlorn hope—were directed to march during the night to the foot of the eastern slope. He accomplished it so discreetly that by daybreak on the 25th by a dash he gained the crest when his fiery Batlokoa bore down upon the guard there with the assegai, only to be hurled back as reinforcements came up with such effect that several were killed and Ward beat a hurried retreat, having six volunteers seriously wounded. The diversion however caused the garrison to neglect other salients where Pansegrouw and Jooste each with 200 men led attacks so effectively that they gained a footing and, pouring in a heavy fire from two sides,

plunged the defenders into such confusion that after losing 67 they broke and fled, leaving the captors in possession of a large stock of grain, 500 horses and cattle and 5,000 sheep. The moral effect of this reverse was great; the Boers were permitted without molestation to entrench themselves and occupy the mountain permanently, having abundant supplies.

This victory was the signal for increased activity on the part of other commandos. Commandant Joubert on September 30 with 450 men swung round the Berea mountain under the cliffs of Thaba Bosigo sweeping off herds of stock. On October 8 he raided up to the Putiatsana, provoking resentment by what was termed by the Rev. Mr. Jousse, who had found his way back to Basutoland, as the indiscriminate shooting of women and children, a long list of which casualties was furnished to the High Commissioner by the missionary at the desire of Moshesh.

During the next two months Commandants Kolbe, Botha and Joubert delivered repeated blows upon the enemy, killing numbers, gaining plunder, destroying villages and food. Commandant Jooste left in command at Makwais also conducted mountain expeditions with little interruption to beyond the heights above Mafeteng, so that the enemy were allowed no rest and did not know when or from what quarter, rear or flank, to expect attack.

These minor tactics proving so successful, it was resolved to undertake a major operation against Taantjesberg, the barrier astride the main road near Morija, held by Poshudi. It was sufficiently supplied

and garrisoned ; but the Basuto, driven now from pillar to post, were losing heart and not fighting with that pertinacity which had previously characterized them.

According to the report dated January 31, 1868, of Commandant Pansegrouw he marched stealthily during the night of the 27th, with 650 men, including 100 native allies. His plan was similar to that adopted at Makwais, viz. to feign an assault under Van der Merwe on the side most accessible in order to attract the defence whilst pushing up just before dawn storming parties at two other points led by himself and Jooste. The artifice again succeeded. The defenders were induced to concentrate their effort against the feint, leaving other points so inadequately protected that the Boers forced the barriers and the day was won. The Basuto fought tenaciously for a while round some rocky mounds, but when taken in reverse and their leader Poshudi fell, fled in dismay leaving 121 dead and all their accumulated store of grain. According to a letter of Mr. Austin of February 5 it appears that Poshudi received first a bad wound in the leg ; while being helped to a place of safety another bullet in the chest wounded him mortally. His body was secreted in a cave and removed at nightfall by faithful adherents. Thus passed away one known as the great robber chieftain whose name had been associated for so many years with border legends.

The loss of Poshudi and Taantjesberg struck terror into the minds of the Basuto nation. Beset on every side, their young crops rooted up, mourning the loss



of hundreds, they clung to the one remaining outpost, viz. Qeme. They were nearly prostrate, in utter desolation with the alternative prospect of perishing from war or from exposure and starvation if driven into caves.

During the months immediately preceding this unhappy crisis, Moshesh and his sons, Mr. Buchanan, the missionaries and other friends had ceaselessly importuned the Governor for British intervention before it was too late to prevent the blotting out of a fine native race. Sir Philip Wodehouse was wrung by these supplications. In September he had implored Her Majesty's Government as a positive duty to assume authority in Basutoland. With the conviction that a favourable response would shortly come, he instructed Mr. Burnet to find some way of acquainting the Basuto with his action, trusting it might buoy them up, for it was highly essential, if permission for him to interpose was granted, that he should do so before the country became wrecked and swallowed up. The news of late reverses made him feel that in any case the decision might be too late for rescue.

At last the long-deferred reply arrived in the middle of January 1868, signed by the Duke of Buckingham, then Secretary of State, on the 9th December 1867. No more memorable document exists regarding the history of Basutoland because it brought protection and prepared the way for government under a constitution that, with little variation, has continued unbroken ever since. It reversed all Imperial policy of late years and consented to annexation, not to the Cape as had been recommended but to Natal. What

animated Her Majesty's Government in coming to this decision will appear in the despatch appended in full.

*Despatch from the* SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE  
COLONIES *to the* HIGH COMMISSIONER

“ DOWNING STREET, 9th December, 1867.

“ SIR,

“ I have received your despatches of the 3rd May and 17th September, relative to the prospect of a renewal of hostilities between the Orange Free State and the Basutos, and the overtures again made by the Chief Moshesh with a view to the annexation of his country to the Colony of Natal, and expressing your opinion that if an opportunity should offer for establishing closer relations with the Basutos, it would be right, with reference to our general policy, to bring them under the control of the Governor of the Cape as High Commissioner rather than under that of the Natal Government.

“ Her Majesty's Government have had under their careful consideration the repeated offers made by the Chief Moshesh that he and his people with their territory should be received under the authority of the Queen. They have likewise given their attention to Mr. Cardwell's Despatch of the 9th March 1866, in which he signified his readiness to authorize the establishment of an Agent with Moshesh, and Lord Carnarvon's Despatch of the 25th July following, expressing his opinion that no advantage would be secured by such an appointment, and might lead to embarrassments.

“ Her Majesty's Government consider that the

residence of a British Agent with Moshesh would not accomplish a permanent settlement of the difficulties which have to be met, while it might embarrass our relations with independent native tribes and the Free State, and they have therefore come to the conclusion that the peace and welfare of Her Majesty's possessions in South Africa would be best promoted by accepting the overtures made by that Chief.

“If Her Majesty's Government had merely entertained the question of a closer alliance with the Basutos by the appointment of a British Agent, or by some other means not involving sovereign rights, it would have been right that the tribe should continue to be under the control of the Governor of the Cape Colony in his capacity of High Commissioner; but as their recognition as British subjects, and incorporation of their territory, are now the matters under consideration, Her Majesty's Government have to decide in what manner these important measures can be best carried into effect, and they feel no doubt that the best and most obvious arrangement would be the annexation of Basutoland to the Colony of Natal. This step would also be in conformity with the last overtures made by the Chief Moshesh, which Mr. Shepstone, the Secretary of Native Affairs, states were discussed for five days at a large meeting of the heads of the nation, on which occasion it was determined that the Basuto people, after being taken into allegiance to the Queen, should be ruled in the same way as the native population of Natal, by the Local Government, and that they should pay the annual tax paid by the other natives in the Colony.

“Assuming therefore that the Legislature of Natal, as Her Majesty’s Government have reason to anticipate, will readily acquiesce in such a measure, they authorize you, whenever a fitting opportunity may occur, to treat with the Chief Moshesh for the recognition of himself and of his tribe as British subjects, and for the incorporation of their territory with Natal on the general conditions above stated.

“It is not improbable that the Orange Free State would be glad to see a new order of things established which would give them freedom from the depredations of the Basutos ; and while leaving to your discretion the time and manner of accomplishing this measure, and the terms in which you will communicate with the Free State on the subject, Her Majesty’s Government would only impress upon you the importance of including a settlement of the boundaries between the Free State and Basutoland as an integral part of the arrangement.

“I am glad that the prolongation of your term of Government enables me to entrust the negotiation of this matter to you, as you have given so much attention to the position and to the relations of the Native tribes ; and I trust that it may be in your power to effect an arrangement which will conduce to the advantage of British interests in South Africa, and to the good of the Native tribes concerned, and above all, to the preservation of peace.

“I have furnished to the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, confidentially, a copy of this Despatch, and have requested him to communicate confidentially with you on the subject, and to state to you the view which, in

his opinion, the Legislature of that Colony will most probably take on this important question.

“In conclusion I have to express to you my approval of your having again offered the Free State your friendly mediation for the settlement of the disputes between that State and the Basutos which have unfortunately been renewed. I have, etc.,

“(Signed) BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS.”

Sir Philip Wodehouse was much relieved ; the only question in his mind was whether, in view of the extremities to which the Basuto were reduced when he last heard that only one outlying citadel remained, he would be in time to save them before surrender of their national rights to the Free State. That would introduce grave complications. He did not like the Natal scheme ; but at any rate he had authority to act whilst modifications were considered.

In pursuance of that authority he wrote on January 13, 1868, notifying President Brand of his instructions which he believed the Free State would learn with satisfaction, viz. that the Queen had empowered him to take the Basuto tribe under British protection ; under the circumstances he trusted the President would suspend hostilities with those about to become the subjects of a power actuated by the most friendly sentiments towards the Free State ; he should inform Moshesh accordingly and meanwhile, as a special session of the Volksraad was contemplated, invited that body to appoint delegates to negotiate for the final settlement of affairs between the two territories, for which

purpose he would personally proceed to Basutoland at an early date.

Moshesh received the announcement in a letter from the Governor the day before the fall of Taantjesberg. But for it no further strenuous opposition would probably have been offered by the Basuto. Its effect was to restore animation in the defence which was well-nigh exhausted. He acknowledged the announcement in grateful terms and at once communicated to the Boer Commandants around his readiness to suspend all hostilities as suggested by the Governor ; but his proposal was rejected.

President Brand replied to the Governor on January 31 in language which did not conceal his surprise and disappointment. Recapitulating all the circumstances, he was unable to share the view that the course proposed would tend to future peace ; at great sacrifice and expense the object of the prolonged war had been nearly accomplished, their arms everywhere having under God's blessing been successful ; in previous despatches His Excellency had abandoned the right of interference ; to interfere at this hour would be highly impolitic and a violation of the Convention of 1854 ; he, the President, could not believe that such a course was seriously contemplated nor could he agree to sheathe the sword.

The same day the President made his intentions clear to Moshesh, avowing that warlike operations would be pushed on vigorously until the murderers of Bush and Krijnauw were handed over and all treaties observed to the letter. The commandos were ordered to worry the enemy briskly and to make preparations

for capture of the Qeme stronghold. This procedure was most perplexing to the Basuto. They were under an obligation to the Governor to abstain from hostilities yet were subject to ceaseless attack. All they could do was to hold on as well as possible, making known their critical position to Cape Town by letters secretly conveyed to the Civil Commissioner at Aliwal North.

The state of things was most incongruous and dangerous. The Governor hesitated to exercise his powers until discussing matters with Natal. Hoping to temporize, he again wrote to President Brand on February 11 deploring the ruthless destruction of life and property of those soon to become Her Majesty's subjects; the women and children were being driven to starvation and the country to destitution; the settlement was no longer vested in Moshesh who had resigned his independence to the British Government; so soon as a fair understanding could be arrived at affecting boundaries the Free State would enjoy in peace the land they had so long claimed without the power to occupy.

It would have been better if Sir Philip Wodehouse had supplemented this remonstrance by openly confessing that on the same date he had written to Moshesh encouraging the Chief to resistance, urging him to maintain the best defence possible, and to make every exertion to embarrass the movements of the Boers, taking care to reoccupy all ground directly the patrols moved off.

The Free State soon learnt the nature of this communication which meant that they were involved in a contest not only with Basutoland but with Great

Britain. It was a cruel moment for them to be baulked of the prize they had struggled for just as their adversary was beaten to the ground. Nevertheless, they determined to frustrate if possible the Governor's policy by a final effort to reduce the Qeme stronghold and compel the tribe to submit before by any official act, which had been unaccountably delayed, Basutoland was proclaimed British territory.

On the night of the 21st February the garrison of Qeme mountain under Lerothodi, diminished in the absence of his father Letsie, lay awaiting news from Cape Town quite unsuspecting of attack and neglecting the customary precautions by means of watches and vedettes. Consequently, when a little before dawn a resolute assault was delivered it found them in disorder and confusion. The mountain was extensive in area, having plenty of pasture and strong springs of water on the top. Rising out of a plain it presented an impregnable appearance with dark precipitate sides crowned by a rocky escarpment; but it was difficult to defend because of its accessibility at one point approached by a grassy slope. Still, its capture meant a formidable undertaking.

Commandant Pansegrouw laid the snare that had trapped his enemy on previous occasions. With 100 burghers and a gun he made a great display of forcing a pass leading up from the south side to which the main defence was at once drawn. Meanwhile, Commandant Jooste with 560 men galloped high up amongst the rocks on the western slopes, dismounted and successfully scaled the heights with the loss of only one wounded. It was a comparatively easy



triumph in so far as it went ; 30 of the enemy were killed and booty to the extent of 7,636 cattle, 720 horses and 14,400 sheep fell to the victors.

However, the full purpose of the Free State was not completed. Anxiety to get away with the rich plunder led them to retire before driving the enemy out of many of the rocky bastions standing at every angle of the rugged mountain. As the retreating force filed down the passes the natives swarmed over the battle-field casting imprecations upon the conquerors as they drove off the mob of stock.

The temporary fall of the fortress was more than a moral victory for the Free State. But the Basuto, though suffering a terrible blow in the loss of their cattle, were not so badly cornered as to be brought to terms that would imperil their future. To ensure that, the day's advantage required to be pressed home.

## CHAPTER XXI

The friends thou hast, and their adoption tried,  
Grapple them to thy soul with hoops of steel.

SHAKESPEARE.

President Brand declares for continuing hostilities, whereupon the High Commissioner proclaims Basutoland as British territory, sends force of Police to protect Basuto and makes provisional arrangements for administration as Imperial Protectorate. Free State sends Deputation to England to protest but fails. Conference follows, resulting in Convention of Aliwal North which recovers much Basuto had lost yet meets with considerable opposition, but is eventually ratified. Moshesh's days are numbered

1868—1870

THE victory gained by the Boers lacked the finishing touch that would have made it supreme. The enemy were not completely driven from Qeme mountain nor followed up. President Brand who was a spectator of the engagement returned immediately afterwards to Bloemfontein satisfied in his mind that the situation was gravely compromised in the encouragement given to the Basuto by Sir Philip Wodehouse, to whom he wrote a melancholy letter on March 3, 1868, reviewing the story of strife and difficulty the Free State had experienced since 1854.

The Basuto, he said, had now been beaten on every occasion, their mountain fastnesses, strongly fortified by masoned walls, broken and cleared, their schanzen and stone works broken down ; they were subdued and so humbled as never again to provoke war ; but the murderers of Bush and Krijnauw had not been surrendered ; until that was done and indemnity made for war expenses the campaign must be carried on with vigour ; as regards land, there was plenty left for the natives ; Poshudi's people had been decimated at Taantjesberg, Makwai and many others had emigrated to Cape Colony. In view of all these circumstances and the fact that the Basuto were only British subjects by "vague rumour," the President could not conceive that a neutral friendly power would embarrass his Government by interference to prevent its exacting retribution and redress from Moshesh who was holding out only on account of the moral support he was receiving from British officials.

To this the High Commissioner replied on March 10, that, as the Free State had not respected his appeal to suspend hostilities, it was necessary for him to indicate the course he intended to follow. The Basuto were crippled by his directions to cease from offensive operations and were being pushed by force and destitution across the borders of the Cape and Natal in so unfriendly a way as to absolve the British Government from adhering any longer to the non-intervention clauses of the Convention of 1854 ; his overtures for peace had been contemned ; therefore he would now peremptorily forbid the importation and sale of all arms and ammunition required for the

prosecution by the Free State of a war which had become inhuman, unreasonable and objectionable.

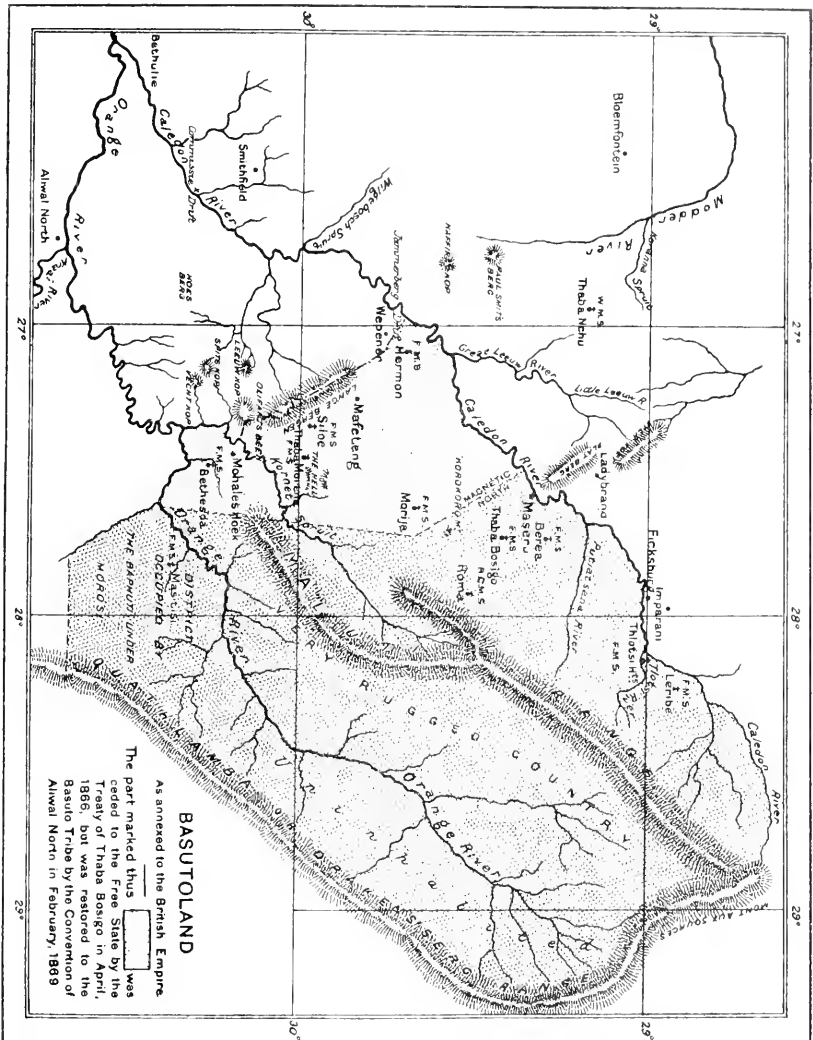
Two days later the High Commissioner, acting upon the authority given in the Secretary of State's despatch of the 9th December 1867, issued the following Proclamation declaring Basutoland to be British territory. Had it been done some weeks earlier, much bloodshed and vexatious correspondence might have been spared. The "fitting opportunity" had however not occurred because the arrangements for incorporation by Natal had not matured. But the psychological moment had now arrived when, no matter what state the negotiations were in, further delay was dangerous.

#### PROCLAMATION

*By His Excellency Sir Philip Edmond Wodehouse, Her Majesty's High Commissioner, &c., &c., &c.*

Whereas with a view to the restoration of peace and future maintenance of tranquillity and good government on the north-eastern Border of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, Her Majesty the Queen has been graciously pleased to comply with the request made by Moshesh, the Paramount Chief, and other Headmen of the tribe of the Basutos, that the said tribe may be admitted into the Allegiance of Her Majesty : And whereas Her Majesty has been further pleased to authorize me to take the necessary steps for giving effect to Her pleasure in the matter :

Now, therefore, I do hereby proclaim and declare that from and after the publication hereof the said tribe of the Basutos shall be, and shall be taken to





be, for all intents and purposes, British subjects; and the territory of the said tribe shall be, and shall be taken to be, British Territory. And I hereby require all Her Majesty's subjects in South Africa to take notice of this my Proclamation accordingly.

God Save the Queen !

Given under the public seal of the Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, this 12th day of March, 1868.

(Signed) P. E. WODEHOUSE, Governor.

Whatever misgivings the course of affairs excited in the minds of British colonists in South Africa, of the Free Staters and Basuto, were tempered by this Proclamation the publication of which generated feelings of a mixed character. Basutoland was comforted. Conversely, the Free State was exasperated, the burghers harbouring resentment on account of the hectoring treatment they felt they had been subject to and the manner their legitimate ambitions had been thwarted; they murmured against the fate, after having striven for and nearly accomplished what British generals with abundant resources had failed to do, that had deprived them of the laurels they had won. Many colonists shared this view and condemned the policy which admitted of it. But there were others, especially in Natal, who maintained that no other policy was possible; the Free State in their opinion was exhausted and insolvent and could never enjoy rest or security nor effectively govern the Basuto whose seat of government in the fortress at Thaba Bosigo remained unshaken.

The High Commissioner followed up his Procla-

mation by the despatch of a column of Cape Mounted Police to Basutoland for the assistance of the Basuto if necessary and as a manifestation of the Queen's authority. The force was commanded by Sir Walter Currie who was commissioned on March 14, to act as the Governor's Agent, with instructions not to take the offensive but to arrest any further aggression ; to put an end if possible to hostilities, to facilitate the withdrawal of the Free State commandos beyond the Grey and Wodehouse lines, and to promote the idea of negotiations for settlement of all questions in dispute. On his arrival at Thaba Bosigo on March 26 where he was welcomed with acclamation he at once gave notice to the various Commandants that he held the Queen's Commission and was there to support her subjects the Basuto.

President Brand received due intimation of these measures. He laid the correspondence before his Volksraad by whom he was directed to inform the High Commissioner :—

That it was unable to appoint delegates to negotiate as the prohibition against importation of ammunition and subsequent acts were based upon violations of the 1854 Convention ; that it protested against the Proclamation of Basutoland as British Territory and resolved to appeal to Her Majesty's Government in the most emphatic manner against conduct which had threatened the honour, dignity and cherished interests of the Orange Free State, and had challenged its existence as a free and independent community so constituted under the said Convention of 1854.

Although the Republic was in a fractious mood and



determined to offer a vigorous remonstrance by hand of a deputation to the Queen in Council, the probability is that a *modus vivendi* could have been readily concluded on the spot but for the knotty question of boundaries. Upon that question everything pivoted. The Proclamation of March 12 studiously avoided all definition of the territory annexed. The Basuto in surrendering their independence aimed at regaining the full rights they had always claimed, notwithstanding the treaties by which they had signed away fragments alleged to have been torn from them. The Free State insisted upon the full pound of flesh ; they would be content with nothing short of the whole extent of country ceded to them at various times by Moshesh, Letsie, Molapo, Moperi and Molitsane under documents validated by every form of subscription and witness.

Sir Philip Wodehouse was greatly perplexed. He wished to satisfy the Basuto and relieve their contraction but could not recognize their extravagant claims which passed all reasonable bounds. He could not approve the Free State demands because, although founded upon authentic acts of renunciation, they restricted the tribe beyond endurance in respect of much land essential to their absolute needs and control. The middle course was to adopt the boundary lines he and Sir George Grey had formerly laid down. But that appeased neither side and, in addition, presented extraordinary difficulties which did not appear at first sight. The fact was that, as each tract had been ceded under treaty by the chiefs, it was laid out in rows of farms and issued for immediate personal occupation to persons who received proper

title-deeds from the Government. Several hundreds of such farms had been publicly sold or granted in legal form, owners had changed by sale or transfer, money had been advanced, mortgages passed and estates affected by them were under settlement by official trustees according to Dutch law; so that a grave liability was involved by the revocation of warranties given in good faith by competent authority.

There never was a time when the Governor stood more in need of a sum of money to pay out all debtors who stood in the way of resettlement on a sound basis. But he had none. Defending himself in a later despatch he wrote, "I have never forgotten how completely alone I stood in all these affairs. I knew that I could not look for help from any quarter." Consequently he was plunged into a wretched controversy extending over a long period until all parties were nauseated with it. He realized that, whatever the final delimitation, either white people with vested interests would have to move or suffer, or that numbers of natives who had defied the Boer orders for displacement must be expatriated at the cost of British popularity. The arguments advanced by the Governor in parrying the contentions of the Free State were that the conditions of personal occupation by the grantees of farms had never been adequately fulfilled and that British subjects domiciled in the Colonies had not only been allowed to take part as volunteers in the war in violation of the Neutrality Proclamations, but had been rewarded for their services by land grants in the conquered territory.

It is not surprising under the circumstances that



CHRISTIAN GIRLS.



a deadlock soon occurred. Sir Philip Wodehouse in order to bridge over initial difficulties offered in a letter of March 27, 1868, to the President, if the boundaries located by himself and Sir George Grey were accepted, to sell 300 farms on the border to approved purchasers who would take up immediate possession and thus form a buffer of settlers under British rule between Basutoland and the Free State, the proceeds of sale to be utilized for liquidation of vested interests. The offer was declined on the ground that the land in question was already appropriated. His Excellency then journeyed on April 15 to Basutoland where after conference with Moshesh he suggested that, pending the reply of Her Majesty's Government to the Free State deputation, a temporary boundary be mutually observed—without prejudice—beyond which no military forces should operate from either side. The suggestion involved the loss of control by the Free State of some of its conquered territory, including that of Molapo who secretly coquetted with the British in contempt of his allegiance to the Free State. This suggestion was also declined.

The Governor conversed freely with the Basuto upon the subject of annexation learning from them that the idea of union with Natal was most distasteful; it was, they said, only proposed when yielding to despair of being joined to the Cape which from geographical and tribal reasons relating to customs and language was infinitely preferable. But, what they earnestly desired was to be formed into an Imperial Native Reserve under the High Commissioner exclusively with a constitution adapted to their condition

and agreeable to their feelings. Sir Philip Wodehouse in a despatch of May 2, 1868, strongly supported this idea, discountenancing the plan of annexation to either Colony.

In the interval the Secretary of State, on hearing what had passed, condemned the haste the Governor had displayed in prematurely giving the Basuto to understand that they were taken under protection before completion of arrangements with Natal to incorporate them; he was reprimanded in despatches of February 26, March 27 and April 24 for having so far departed from his instructions as to render possible an embarrassing contest with the Free State, or pecuniary liability which Her Majesty's Government disapproved of; he was therefore directed to inform Moshesh that all arrangements made must be regarded as "conditional." Sir Philip Wodehouse was thus made to share the deep mortification experienced by his predecessor Sir George Grey in similar circumstances where both had acted with promptitude under a high sense of public duty at moments of grave crisis. Defending his conduct, he reminded the Secretary of State in dignified terms of the authority granted him to choose his own time and manner of accomplishing the measures approved and the responsibility then imposed upon him for settling boundaries. In a despatch of May 2, 1868, he wrote:—

"I acted at once with the view of bringing this miserable war to a close, and I have been making every effort to come to an understanding about the boundary. After all that has occurred . . . I do not

feel that I can make such a declaration as you have required (*i.e.* to retract from Moshesh) without resigning my office and withdrawing from further participation in this business. . . . I must now leave the case and my conduct in the hands of Her Majesty's Government. But as I am very anxious for the success and confirmation of the policy I have adopted, I will ask your Grace to bear in mind that I have now been in office here longer than any Governor since Lord Charles Somerset; that I have paid the most constant attention to border and native affairs; that not a shot has been fired in war by a British soldier during my Government; that I have never applied to Her Majesty's Government or to this Parliament for the smallest sum for the purposes of war, and that I have never involved the former in any difficulty. If, however, Her Majesty's Government should unfortunately regard it as their duty to disavow what I have done, or even to withhold from me a frank support, then I think it will be desirable to relieve me at once and to place the management of these intricate affairs in the hands of one whom they can unreservedly trust."

Then, on hearing that confidence had not been entirely withdrawn, he wrote on May 18 :—

"Her Majesty's Government, most unexpectedly I confess, adopted the resolution of receiving the Basuto as British subjects, and entrusted the execution of the measure to my discretion. It is perfectly impossible for Your Grace at such a distance to comprehend, or for me to render clearly intelligible to

you, the complication of feelings and interests mixed up in these affairs, and until some mischief clearly arises out of my conduct of them I must submit . . . that it will not be wise to interfere. . . . It may be satisfactory to Your Grace to learn the reassuring fact that the main body of the Cape Frontier Police have recrossed the Orange River on their return. . . . And you will not be surprised I trust if, under all the circumstances, I inform you that I shall have great hesitation in acting on any further instructions that I may receive tending to diminish the chances of the success of my present policy until your decision on the very full explanation I have transmitted."

This ill-fated want of confidence and interference at a critical juncture had unfortunate results. The Governor in a fit of depression gave orders as stated in his despatch for withdrawal of the Police under command of Sir Walter Currie. Their presence at a central point close to the border had produced a quieting effect upon all parties during progress of the negotiations ; their retirement let loose a band of disorderly spirits who had been kept under restraint and removed the one element of authority necessary to curb restlessness.

Before returning from Basutoland on April 28 Sir Philip took such measures as were practicable to promote some form of local administration. A large Pitso was held on April 15 attended by all the chiefs, Mr. Keate the Governor of Natal, Mr. Shepstone and the missionaries who had by this time found their way back though their exile was not rescinded. Pro-



visional regulations were discussed and drafted for the guidance of the Governor's Agent and the tribe, of the following purport :—

Three or four magistrates to be appointed ;

The code of law to be as far as reasonable in conformity with native usages ;

The Agent to call in intelligent natives to assist him in administering justice ;

Appeal in serious cases to lie to the High Commissioner ;

A hut-tax of 10/- to be paid.

Sir Walter Currie was replaced as Agent by Mr. J. H. Bowker, an officer of the Cape Corps, who was left to perform most arduous duties without any visible force behind him.

On May 8 President Brand was instructed by his Volksraad to inquire whether a temporary line would be approved pending a decision upon the protest sent to England, such a line to be that described in the treaty of 1866 at Thaba Bosigo which cut off the valuable district of Leribe north of the Putiatsana as well as a portion of central Basutoland. The Governor replied on May 21, that it would be unsound policy for him to agree to any temporary line of demarcation that did not commend itself as one likely to endure ; otherwise they would have ultimately to face vested interests certain to grow up during the interval.

By the time Sir Philip Wodehouse reached Cape Town he had convinced himself of the undesirability of allowing either the Cape or Natal to incorporate Basutoland. Neither of those Colonies in fact were

anxious to incur the responsibility with all the liability it involved in the present state of unsettlement. Though coterminous at certain points their seats of government were remote, and above all, the Basuto, now they had got what they wanted in the shape of protection, were not favourable to local federation. He therefore urged strongly in a despatch of June 3 reconsideration of his former recommendation to place the country directly under control of the High Commissioner ; if that proposition were adopted, it would be comparatively easy at any future time to extinguish his powers and bring the people under the authority of either of the Legislatures to whom it might appear proper to give the preference.

To this and a number of other despatches covering a mass of correspondence upon the whole subject, the Secretary of State replied on July 9 restoring to Sir Philip Wodehouse the confidence he had intermediately lost, approving all he had done and all he proposed.

*Extract of a Despatch from HIS GRACE THE DUKE  
OF BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS to GOVERNOR  
SIR P. E. WODEHOUSE, K.C.B.*

“ DOWNING STREET, *July 9th*, 1868.

“ SIR,

“ . . . I can readily understand that in having to deal with such various and complicated interests as are involved in this question, you conceived that you were not precluded from using a considerable discretion in endeavouring to carry into effect the wishes of Her Majesty's Government.

“In the views which you have stated on the subject you have rightly judged of the spirit and object of the instructions given to you.

“That object was to attain such an arrangement as, without involving the Imperial Government in any pecuniary liability, should secure peace around the frontiers of the South African Colonies, and put an end to the constantly recurring strife between the Orange Free State and the Basuto, which had ruined our commerce with the interior, and caused destructive losses to the merchants of the Colony, which has been converted by the Free State into a process of starvation, tending to drive the Basutos into a state of misery over our borders, and in which, while professing neutrality, we were really participating by withholding ammunition from the Basutos and supplying it freely to their enemies.

“In the instructions conveyed to you Natal was selected as the Colony to which Basutoland should be annexed, because the last application of Moshesh expressed a strong desire for annexation to that Colony, as he represented that his immediate interests could be better attended to by the Natal Government than by a Government at so great a distance as Cape Town, and, secondly, because I did not consider it desirable at once to place the Basutos under laws enacted by the Cape Parliament. In Natal they would have been under the supervision of the Executive Government like the Natives of that Colony, and would for the most part have been independent of the Legislature.

“The Chief Moshesh, I am now informed by you,

objects to the annexation of his territory to Natal, and desires to be entirely dependent on the High Commissioner, or to be annexed to the Colony of the Cape. You have truly described the consequences to the commerce of the British Colonies of the constant strife on the frontiers. It is therefore of the utmost importance to the colonists of the Cape that such a state of things should be terminated. You appear to be strongly of opinion that a certain period must elapse before Basutoland can be annexed to and the people incorporated with the Cape Colony. You state the resources to be obtained from the hut-tax in Basutoland to be ample for the maintenance of the three or four Residents you think it necessary at present to place in the territory. You do not touch upon the question of any police force. I apprehend therefore that you consider that this duty will be performed by the Cape Mounted Police, as a part in fact of their duty of preserving the peace of the frontier districts, and that those expenses will be borne by the Cape.

“Under these circumstances Her Majesty’s Government are not disposed to withhold their consent from the scheme which you have proposed of placing Moshesh and his tribe for the present under the control of the High Commissioner until they become more fitted for union with one of the Colonies in South Africa, on the understanding that no pecuniary or military aid is to be sought from this country. . . . In conclusion I would remark that while I feel it my duty to point out to you the exact nature of the instructions given when reports which reached this country appeared to show that you were acting in excess of them, I carefully

avoided expressing any opinion until I should have received your own explanations, and I have much satisfaction in assuring you that I see no reason to express any disapproval of the course you have pursued, nor to withhold from you that full confidence which is essential to the hopes of a successful result to the difficult task with which you have been entrusted.

“ I have, etc.

“(Signed) BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS.”

The important decision conveyed in the above communication closed the door to a section of the controversy and placed Basutoland upon a definite administrative basis. But whilst statesmen were reflecting, the lawless borderers on both sides in the absence of dominating force were thieving and skirmishing. President Brand complained bitterly on various occasions of outrageous acts committed by Basuto, claiming that the British Government should take steps to restrain their newly made subjects. The Governor evinced every sympathy and desire to be conciliatory but felt bound to respond that the policy of the Free State had put it out of his power to provide a remedy ; from the outset it had refused to treat with him, preferring to transfer the negotiations to England ; he had therefore no alternative but to acquiesce in that determination, disastrous as he believed it would prove.

Much then depended upon the objects of the Deputation and the success it might achieve. It was kindly received in November 1868 by the Secretary of State but failed entirely to accomplish its main

purpose which was either to obtain cancellation of the Proclamation of Sir Philip Wodehouse and allow the Free State to continue the contest with Basutoland, or to secure the appointment of an unbiassed Commission from England to hold an investigation in South Africa. The Duke of Buckingham stated in clear terms that the assumption of the Basuto as British subjects was an established fact ; that in his opinion the treaties of Molapo and Moshesh ceding territory were superseded by the state of war that followed, leaving boundary questions quite open ; and that Her Majesty's Government declined to enter upon independent negotiations for the settlement of cognate affairs which were entrusted to the High Commissioner in whom absolute confidence was reposed.

Upon this verdict being made known at Bloemfontein, President Brand on January 13, 1869, summoned his Volksraad who at once realized the hopelessness of their position. Raiding was prevalent in the conquered territory ; they were precluded from pursuing delinquents into British territory and baffled in getting the necessary munitions of war. No other alternative was open but reluctantly to desire the President to express their willingness to negotiate with the Governor on pending disputes relating to Basutoland, and to appoint a Commission with power to act on their behalf.

Pourparlers that followed led to a Conference on February 3, 1869, at Aliwal North between Sir Philip Wodehouse and President Brand assisted by four commissioners representative of the Free State Government. For the space of a week the parties in delibera-

tion gave undivided attention to the mass of problems presented ; but all discussion revolved round the boundary entanglement which opened up so many points where private interest and public policy conflicted. Each proposal for demarcation was so stubbornly contested that at one time the Conference broke off in apparently hopeless disagreement. The Free Staters clung to the sanctity of solemn treaties made between them and the conquered chiefs, any abrogation of which would be contrary to international law ; the High Commissioner refused to confine the Basuto within limits fatal to the establishment of friendly relations and the maintenance of permanent peace and order.

A severe tussle ensued in respect of the region north of the Putiatsana, the cession of it by Molapo being held by the Free State commissioners to be a legally accomplished fact ; the cession, in their opinion, was full of force, and effect had been given in every way to the treaty under which it was made ; moreover, they were not empowered or at liberty to set it aside. To this view the High Commissioner took strong objection, stating that he could not vary the decision of the Secretary of State under advice from the law officers of the Crown that all these treaties with the chiefs were superseded by the state of war which followed. But apart from that he could not contemplate the possibility of any satisfactory understanding that separated Molapo the second son of Moshesh from the rest of the tribe and left him under control of a different authority ; that chief had capitulated only from the mere pressure of necessity ; to perpetuate

such an arrangement would, the Governor believed, be to court trouble and dislocate the whole organization of future government.

In the end a compromise was reached providing that, if Molapo would address the President an application praying to be released from Free State subjection, the Volksraad should be moved to consent to his becoming a British subject. Highly contentious points of this character being removed, a Convention was signed on the 12th February 1869, subject to ratification by the Imperial Government and Volksraad. Its main provisions are contained in the following summary :—

#### CONVENTION OF ALIWAL NORTH

His Excellency Sir Philip Edmund Wodehouse, . . . acting in the name of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, on the one part ;

And Johannes Hendricus Brand, Esq., President of the Orange Free State, and others acting in the name of the Government of the Orange Free State, on the other part ;

Having met at Aliwal North for the purpose of negotiating about all pending questions with regard to the Basuto affairs, agreed :—

*Art. 1.* The boundary line between Basutoland, forming part of the British Empire by virtue of the Proclamation of His Excellency the High Commissioner, dated 12th March 1868, and the Orange Free State, shall, subject to the provisions contained in the 6th Article hereof, be as follows : From the junction of the Cornetspruit with the Orange River, along the





Photo by Elliott & Fry, Baker Street, London.

REV. F. COILLARD.



centre of the former to the point nearest to Olifantsteen ; from that point to Olifantsteen ; from Olifantsteen to the southern point of Langberg, along the top of Langberg to its north-western extremity ; from thence to the eastern point of Jammerberg ; along the top of Jammerberg to its north-western extremity ; from thence, by a prolongation of the same to the Caledon River ; along the centre of the Caledon River to where the Putisani falls into it ; along the centre of the Putisani to its source in the Drakensberg ; from thence along the Drakensberg.

*Art. 2.* The boundary line mentioned in Art. 1 shall be marked off, and proper beacons shall be erected along the same without delay, as far as may be deemed necessary, by two or more Commissioners. . . .

*Art. 3.* The Government of the Orange Free State acknowledges the Basutos domiciled on the eastern side of the boundary line mentioned in Art. 1 to be British subjects.

*Art. 4.* All natives who have been permitted by the Government of the Orange Free State to establish themselves on the Free State side of the boundary line mentioned in Art. 1 are acknowledged to be subjects of the Orange Free State.

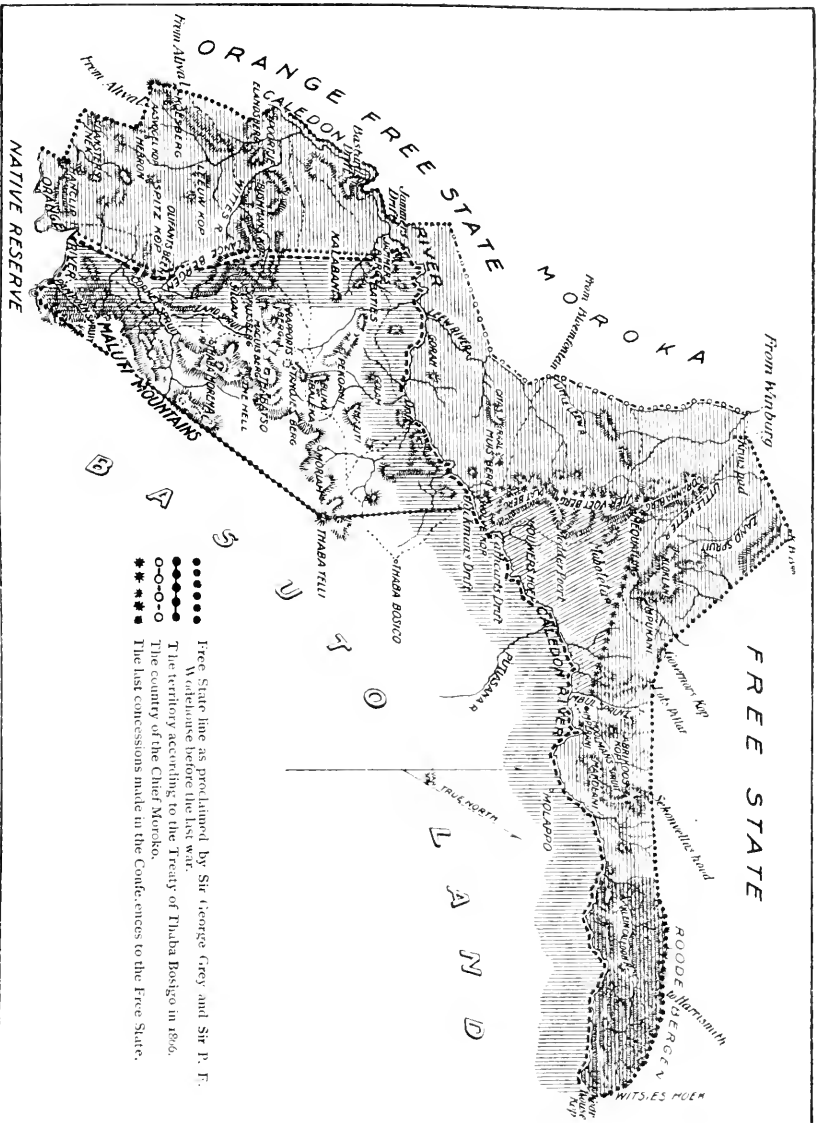
*Art. 5.* Such Basutos, not falling within the terms of Art. 4 or Art. 7, as at present live on the western side of the boundary line mentioned in Art. 1 shall be allowed to remain on the said side until the 31st July 1869, in order to enable them to reap and remove their crops, and after the said day, unless specially permitted by the Government of the Orange Free State to

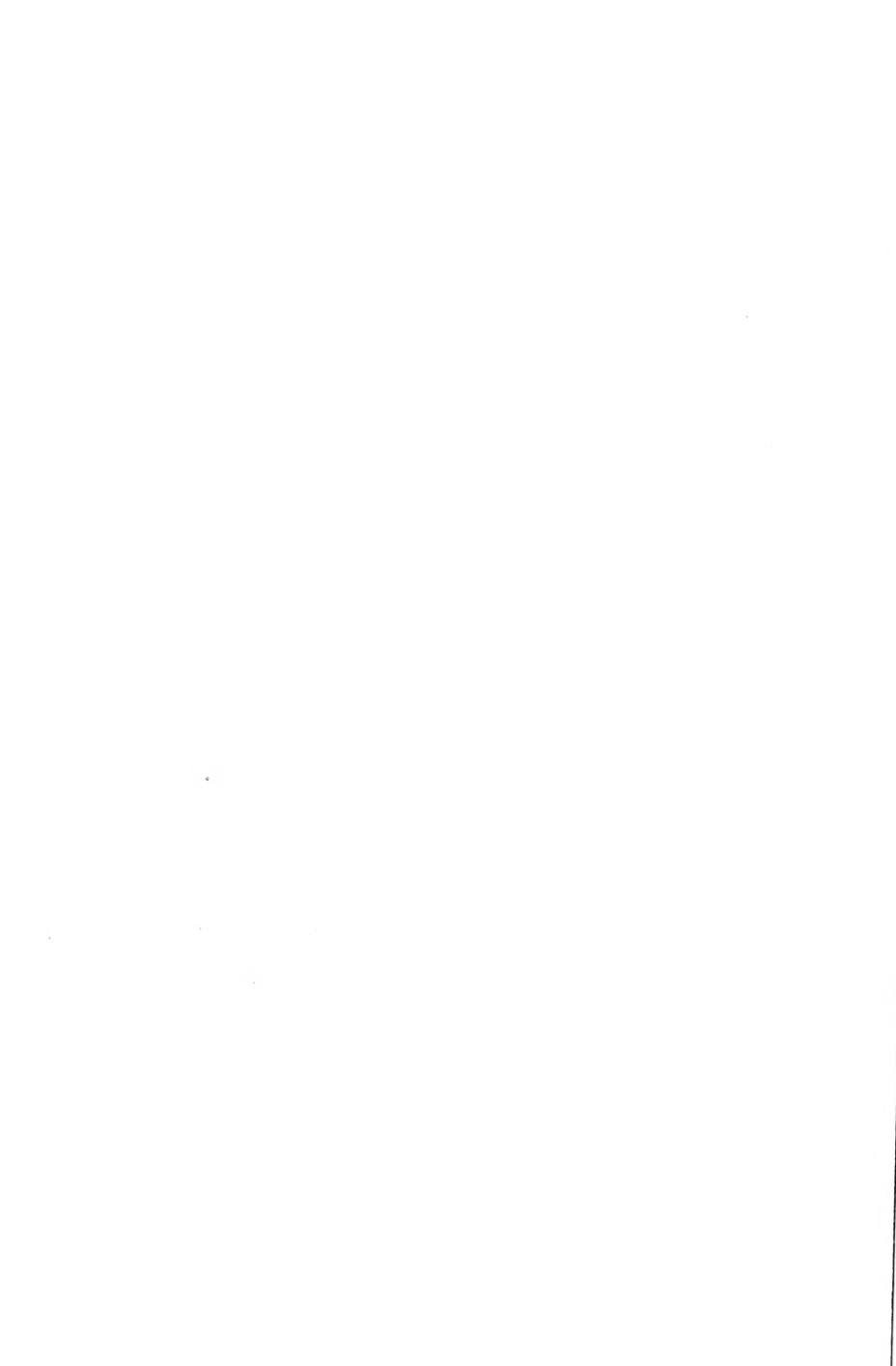
remain, shall be obliged to quit the territory of the said State. . . .

*Art. 6.* Upon the written request of the Chief Molapo to the Volksraad of the Orange Free State for himself and his people to be relieved from their subjection to that State, and to become British subjects, the Volksraad shall grant the said request ; whereupon the land between the Putisani, the Caledon River, and the Drakensberg shall cease to form part of the territory of the Orange Free State ; and the boundary line mentioned in *Art. 1* instead of running along the centre of the Caledon River, to where the Putisani falls into it, along the centre of the Putisani to its source in the Drakensberg, and from thence along the Drakensberg, shall hereafter be taken to run along the centre of the Caledon River to its source in the Drakensberg.

*Art. 7.* The French Missionary establishments, Mequatling and Mabilele, shall be maintained for the reasonable purposes of the mission, and the missionaries and natives residing on them shall be subject to such regulations as shall from time to time be made by the Government of the Orange Free State for the proper management of the same ; and 1,500 morgen of land, or such addition of ground as the Volksraad of the said State may consider necessary and practicable, shall be assigned to each of the said establishments. The French Missionary Society, however, or their representatives, shall be entitled at any time to give them up as such, and to dispose of the same, should they consider it advisable to do so.

*Art. 8.* There shall be free intercourse, personal and commercial, between the white inhabitants residing





in the Orange Free State on the one side, and Basutoland on the other side, subject to such laws and regulations now in force or to become in force in the two countries respectively.

*Art. 9.* No natives residing in Basutoland shall be allowed to enter or pass through the territory of the Orange Free State, and no natives residing in the Orange Free State shall be allowed to enter or pass through Basutoland, otherwise than in conformity with such conditions and regulations as are now in force or may be hereafter enacted by the Volksraad of the Orange Free State, and by or in the name of the British Government respectively.

*Art. 10.* It is stipulated between the two contracting parties that from both sides criminals shall be delivered, upon the terms which shall be agreed upon hereafter, between the Government of Her Britannic Majesty on the one part, and the Government of the Orange Free State on the other part. . . .

*Art. 11.* It is stipulated between the two contracting parties that the manner in which thefts of cattle and other property are to be proved, the manner in which the spoor of stolen cattle is to be traced, the manner in which compensation for thefts is to be claimed and to be obtained, and all other matters connected therewith, shall form the subject of a separate agreement. . . .

*Art. 12.* His Excellency the High Commissioner agrees to submit to arbitration the claim of the Orange Free State to compensation for thefts committed and other damage done by the Basutos to the inhabitants of the Orange Free State, and the claim of the Basutos to like compensation since the date of the proclamation

of His Excellency the High Commissioner, by which the Basutos have become British subjects, should the Volksraad of the Orange Free State desire such arbitration.

*Art. 13.* In the same manner His Excellency the High Commissioner agrees to arbitration with regard to the claim of the Orange Free State to compensation for the abandonment of the land situated between the boundary line mentioned in Art. 1 of the Treaty of Peace between the Orange Free State and the Chief Moshesh, dated 3rd April 1866, and that mentioned in Art. 1 of the present Convention, and in the case provided for by Art. 6, for the abandonment of the land situate between the Putisani, the Caledon River and the Drakensberg.

*Art. 14.* Nothing herein contained shall be construed to set aside or invalidate the Convention entered into on the 23rd February 1854, between Sir George Russell Clerk, Her Britannic Majesty's Special Commissioner, and the representatives delegated by the inhabitants of the Orange River Territory, nor any part of the same, nor shall the proclamation of His Excellency the High Commissioner dated 12th March 1868, be held to have been a violation of said Convention. . . .

*Art. 16.* The present Convention, subject to the confirmation and ratification of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty on the one part, and of the Government of the Orange Free State on the other part, shall be carried immediately into execution, without waiting for the exchange of ratifications, which



shall take place in Cape Town, in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, within six months from this date.

Thus done and signed at Aliwal North, in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, this 12th day of February, in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-nine.

(Signed) P. E. WODEHOUSE.

J. H. BRAND.

It would be unreasonable to expect that, considering the conflicting interests and stringency of feeling, Sir Philip Wodehouse and President Brand could come to any agreement likely to give satisfaction to all parties. But their success in arriving at one which, holding as they did such widely divergent views relating to the rights and wants of their respective clients, could be signed with little reservation, is evidence of their patience and large-mindedness. It was a highly important deed designed to separate the British and Dutch spheres of influence in such a manner as to leave no doubt where the jurisdiction of each was operative ; the best test of its merits is that the boundary then fixed, distinguished for its pronounced natural features, has remained practically unchanged ever since.

It would be idle to deny, taking all circumstances into consideration, that the Free State at one time gained such complete ascendancy over Basutoland as almost to crush it out of existence. But for British intervention in the hour of extremity the Basuto must have been deprived of the cream of their country if not exterminated. Therefore we must regard the

Convention of 1869 as a dominating factor in their life. Whatever the reprieve gained for them, whatever they possess to-day was derived from it; their gain was however a loss to the people of the Orange Free State who not unnaturally chafed under what they believed to be cruel injustice inflicted upon them by the might of Great Britain.

Yet the Free State took a generous view of it. Having appealed to the Queen and been disappointed they now resolved in the cause of peace and settlement to defer honourably to the terms their representatives had been constrained to make. In so doing they behaved well, smothering the feelings they had some right to entertain that their designs had been thwarted and their pride as a white race badly wounded.

Opposition to the Convention came from an unexpected quarter. It was engineered by Mr. D. D. Buchanan whose zeal got the better of his discretion. In a series of letters for the next twelve months addressed to the Imperial Government and the press he indulged in violent abuse of Sir Philip Wodehouse for betraying the Basuto as well as British integrity by crooked methods. Never was a charge more undeserved. The Governor had displayed the greatest firmness in his action and loyalty to the cause of the natives; he was governed by the determination to recover for the Basuto what was essential to their existence—to regain in fact by sane endeavour what they had actually lost, without exerting his power to grasp unduly from the little Free State which had been humbled.

The intemperate interposition of Mr. Buchanan was most unfortunate. He attached to himself Tsekelo an untrustworthy son of Moshesh. That young chief of persuasive manners, well educated, speaking English and French fluently, had proved for some years a mischievous purveyor of intrigues by means of letters and messages falsely purporting to emanate from his father; he was an unscrupulous man who had been charged and convicted of theft and other misdemeanours. Buchanan and Tsekelo went to England where they misrepresented facts and stirred up a certain amount of unwarranted indignation against the Convention amongst philanthropical societies and men of high principle who were persuaded to identify themselves with the matter. In their errand they were associated with one of the French missionaries, M. Daumas; he laboured under grievance for losses sustained at the hands of the Boers when his station at Mekuatleng was wrecked, and was further disaffected because that station by the conventional line fell within the Free State sphere. The ill-considered mission of these agitators was discredited by persons in authority; that is to say, the Governor of Natal officially condemned the attitude of Buchanan as being entirely at variance with public opinion in his colony, the Basuto chiefs emphatically denied that Tsekelo had any credentials from them, and the French Missionaries in special Synod deprecated the sad impulses of their colleague Daumas.

Much mischief was however perpetrated before repudiation could overtake the mission whose misleading statements contributed largely to delay in

the Imperial ratification of the Convention for an inordinate period, during which the state of suspense on the borders induced lawlessness that no local authority was competent to deal with. But, though hesitating to ratify until disaffection had subsided and certain explanations had been afforded, the Secretary of State, then Lord Granville, firmly supported the High Commissioner against those who conspired to upset the Aliwal Agreement which was regarded by the Basuto as a whole with grateful approval and by South Africa with deep satisfaction.

So soon as possible after executing the Convention Sir Philip Wodehouse travelled to Basutoland towards the end of February 1869, when a great Pitso of chiefs, people and missionaries assembled. At that meeting where his services were profusely acknowledged he was at pains to explain most carefully the details of the Convention and the procedure that would follow ratification ; viz. that hut-tax would be collected, magistrates appointed, trading licenses levied and obedience to regulations enforced. He also issued notices prohibiting the sale of liquor, authorized a native police force, selected Maseru as the headquarters of the Agent Mr. Bowker, and arranged for the removal from the conquered territory of the Bataung under Molitsane to the locality vacated by Makwai when that chief was driven by Commandant Jooste from his mountain.

Altogether the Governor performed magnificent service in the short period since he had left Cape Town. The one weak spot in the business was that Mr. Bowker was left in uncertainty as to ratification



WOMEN GRINDING CORN.



and with only a few Cape Mounted Police as an emblem of power to control the many turbulent borderers or disturbers of tribal peace. He was weakened also by the absence of Moshesh who was too feeble to attend the Governor's Pitso and had sunk into obscurity.

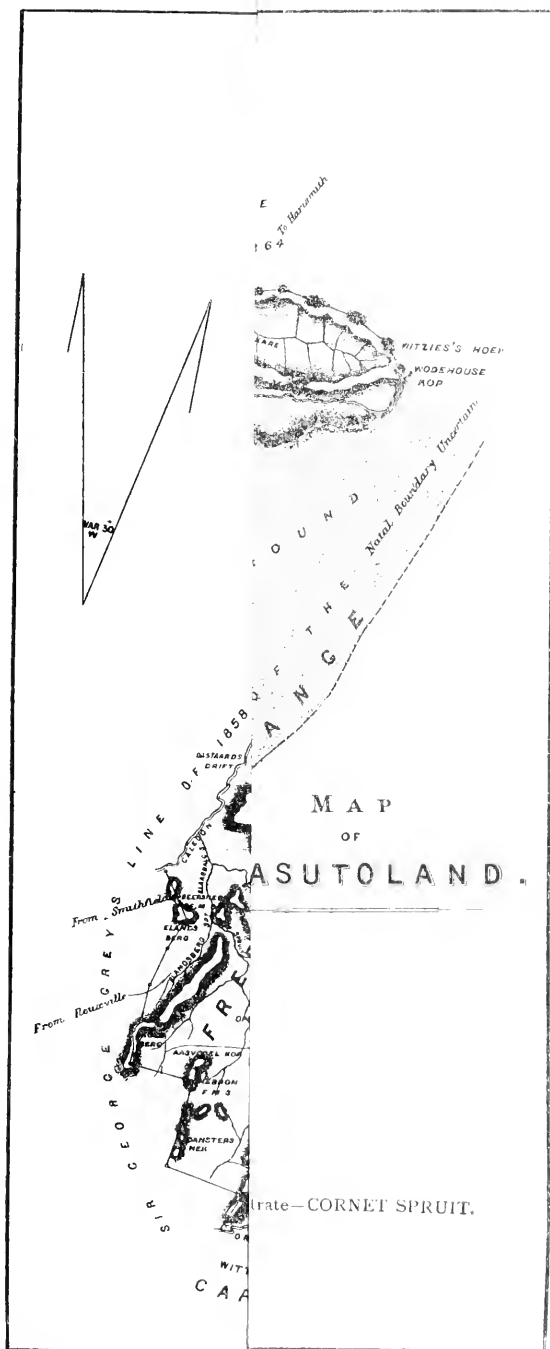
The position was strengthened in May 1869 by the Volksraad of the Orange Free State ratifying the Convention. This had a steadying effect upon marauders who during the whole interregnum were encouraged by agitators to disturb the peace, Mr. Buchanan even threatening in a letter to Lord Granville to lay waste the Free State. Ramanella in particular took advantage of the situation to pillage but, at the instigation of Mr. Bowker, Molapo fell upon him and seized 1,000 head of cattle as a surety for his good behaviour. That incident gave an impetus to the transfer of those Basuto who under Art. 5 of the Convention had to change their domicile.

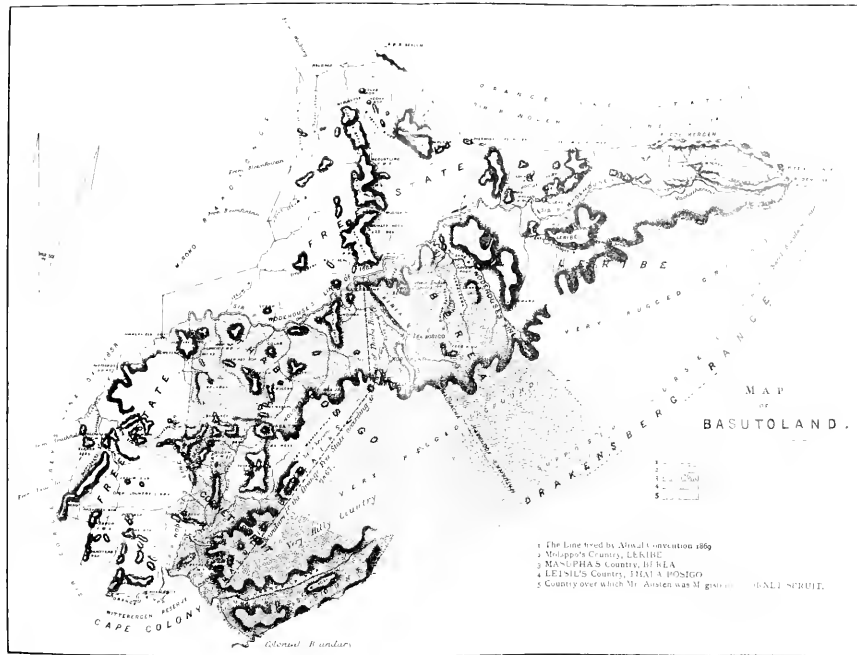
During nearly twelve months the Convention lay in the Colonial Office, London, whilst the Secretary of State bandied doubts and queries with the High Commissioner over details, taking especial exception to Art. 13 which had the appearance of entailing some liability for compensation upon the Imperial Government. In order to bring this undesirable order of things to a close, President Brand consented in a letter of November 11 to expunge the objectionable Article, whereupon the Secretary of State by despatch of December 24, 1869, finally signified Her Majesty's sanction, but it was not until March 19, 1870, that formal ratification by all parties was completed.

There still remained unsettled the troublesome question of Molapo's position. Upon his choice of continuing a Free State subject or being transferred hung the still more important question as to whether the Putiatsana should be the boundary under Art. 1 of the Convention or whether it should be the broad bed of the Caledon River to its source as contingently provided in Art. 6. He chose the British Government ; his request to be absolved from Free State allegiance was made and approved, and thus Basutoland, though lessened, became again a compact country girdled on one side by mountain barriers and on the other almost entirely by a river system, under Imperial protection and guidance.

But, as these transactions were closing a notable chapter of history, the Paramount Chief Moshesh lay on his deathbed, surviving just long enough to learn that his country was folded in the arms of the Queen.







## CHAPTER XXII

There is . . .  
A mourner o'er the humblest grave.

BYRON.

The death of Moshesh: some thoughts about him: his battered faith in the Queen. His successor, and the situation. Departure of Sir Philip Wodehouse and arrival of High Commissioner Sir Henry Barkly. Basutoland annexed to Cape Colony and finds rest under a Code of Regulations

1870—1872

AS mentioned in the preceding chapter, during the dramatic performance of the last acts Moshesh was sinking to his rest. He passed away on March 11, 1870, approximate to eighty years of age.

In the Memoirs of Mr. Orpen, there is recorded a speech delivered by the late Chief to his people in a "lament" upon the occasion of the British abandonment of the sovereignty of 1854:—

"But the Queen has not left us for ever. No Sovereign ever did throw away subjects. The Queen is sitting on the top of a high mountain looking down at us, her children, white and black, who are playing

below and sometimes quarrelling too. She is watching us and trying us. Some day Queen Victoria will come back among us. On that day I shall rejoice as I rejoice at the rising of the sun."

It was well that he was granted the hour of rejoicing, for the burden of chieftainship bore heavily upon him through the ages, affording him few of the pleasures of life or the rewards of hard labour. From his earliest days he had enjoyed no repose. Stirred by intense patriotism, a virtue possessed in no small degree, he burned with a desire to make his people into a nation. That desire absorbed all his energies and if the means he employed to satisfy it were not invariably approved he may be acquitted of guilt for any wanton bloodshed or needless violence. Were apology necessary for his methods of statecraft, be it remembered that during the greater part of his career the tribe was plunged in struggles so keen as to threaten its extinction; in extricating it he was compelled at times to adopt daring expedients, diplomatic and otherwise; they sometimes failed and anon succeeded; but, whatever the result, it may be laid to his credit that he rose above the pursuit of common vengeance often in his power to exact.

It is impossible to recall the story of his life without admiration for the untiring energy of the man; simple by nature, toughened by rude associations, contending for supremacy with other tribes, and for life alternately with Dutch settlers or British armies, yet all the while staggering under the weight of intrigues domestic and foreign, and worried perpetually both by envoys from

all parts and correspondence hard for his untutored mind to grasp the meaning of.

The instinct of self-preservation accounted for many of the faults, vices they were called, of which he was held culpable, such as deceit and perfidy; but his detractors could never fairly charge him with seeking personal gain or committing misdeeds not hallowed by other nations in the name of patriotism. Though his policy was in the main fortunate it frequently appeared to miscarry and was then described as foolish and perverse by those who were either unwilling or unable to realize the far-reaching consequences of heroic measures they advocated. The gift of foresight was peculiarly his; it was because he exercised it intelligently that British Governors one after another challenged his bad faith and ingratitude for not following advice or orders which he knew for a certainty would prove fatal to national interests. If his besetting sin was crookedness, the times were crooked. Broken pledges were not his alone.

There were notable occasions when he incurred displeasure for deliberate contempt of engagements to meet and confer with high personages, or contempt of agreements he had bound himself to fulfil. These acts, committed as he declared out of fear that he would be compromised of speech in the one case, or hope that in the other case he might evade obligations thrust upon him, are hard to justify; but it must not be forgotten that, in his declining years especially, some of his recreant sons threatened to alienate national support if he followed against their wishes the course his own sense of integrity dictated; and moreover

that, however despotic his power, he was dependent upon the will of his people.

So it happened that he was often misunderstood and misjudged by those who unreasonably expected him to possess the lofty virtues of civilization. Great hypocrisy was imputed to him for deluding the missionaries by affecting Christianity which he did not conscientiously espouse and by toying with the Scriptures from which he quoted aptly whenever a foreign audience had to be won over ; it seemed to come easy to him to reconcile faith in a Supreme Being with belief in the spiritual powers of ancestors who had to be feared and propitiated, to condemn pagan customs whilst secretly cherishing them. However that may be, sufficient allowance was never made for the difficult part he had to play. All his acts seemed to show that he was convinced of the moral benefit to his people of Christian influence. He considered it essential to the progress of his tribe to introduce missionaries and always endeavoured to stand in their good graces, conceiving they would help in negotiations and cultivate outside sympathy otherwise beyond his reach. At the same time, in order to keep alive in his warriors the martial spirit required for defence he had to show himself in harmony with those savage traditions and superstitions by which alone they could at that time be moved.

It is lamentable to think of a man who had done so much for his country ending his days under such degrading circumstances as were witnessed. When bent down by age and care, infirm of purpose and wandering of mind, he was treated as all decrepit were

with gross neglect, and deserted by his sons who almost longed for his departure, until his deathbed revealed to them a sense of what they owed him ; all then mourned with true sorrow.

If loyalty to one's country and a life in its service, together with the rude charity of a kind heart, count towards salvation Moshesh could claim it. Inspired by devoted missionaries towards the end he clutched nervously at Christianity, but let it go again. 'Twere better perhaps that he clung to the honest side of heathenism than in his latter days to have embraced the Christian religion without believing and——soiled it. The following note authenticated by the persons named appears in the Memoirs of M. Coillard :—

“It was about four months before the end that Moshesh gave tokens of a real spiritual change. The missionaries had almost ceased to hope for this. He had long known all that an outsider can know of Christianity, but he had no illusions on the subject, nor had they. He was well aware that the one thing needful he did not possess nor even desire. More than a year before his death he was visited by M. and Madame Mabilie. The latter who was the daughter of M. Casalis had known him from her childhood and he was very much attached to her. As they were leaving they spoke very seriously to him about rejecting the Light as he was doing, and he asked them to give him a prayer to use. Fearing that he would treat a written one as a charm, Madame Mabilie said, ‘If I tell you a very short one, you can remember it without writing—*God be merciful to me, a sinner.*’ He

replied very angrily, 'Little girl, who told you I was a sinner? I shall get to heaven as well as you.' "

As the destiny of nations is bound up with individuals, that of Basutoland was bound up with Moshesh. His name is impressed in the memory of the natives of South Africa as of one who was faithful to them and who possessed a singular genius for successful dealing with white men; one too whose battered faith in the Queen survived the darkest hours of despondency. There is no motive for attributing to him virtues that were not his. He had all the defects of his race but they were counterbalanced in some degree by qualities which enabled him to soften when he might have been ferocious, to promote the welfare of his people when it was easier to neglect them, to evolve and order a nation out of chaotic elements. His place in history is that of a commanding personality whose merits should be judged according to the standard of his early training and the usage of his time.

The situation after the death of Moshesh must now be considered. His son Letsie who succeeded as Paramount Chief was not endowed with his father's character or ability. One of his first acts was to relinquish the fortress seat of government at Thaba Bosigo, which had never succumbed to assault, in favour of his brother Masupha. That arrangement had a hidden meaning. It meant that the new Paramount Chief purposed to disguise his intention of



resisting if needs be in future any unpopular form of government by avoiding residence in a fortified position that looked menacing to authority ; to that authority he would diplomatically bow under pressure whilst the "will of the people" under Masupha revolted if desirable and showed its teeth from the summit of Thaba Bosigo. It was a clever subterfuge which made it difficult for the authorities to discern whether they had to deal with the passive voice of Letsie or the resolute bearing of his brother—a puzzling problem for many years to come.

The territory of Basutoland as a Crown Protectorate had fallen in the manner described under the direct administration of the High Commissioner who was represented by an Agent, Mr. Bowker, stationed at Maseru without power to enforce his orders or means of ruling except moral suasion.

The Basuto were conscious of the perils they had been delivered from, were grateful for the rescue but had no disposition to submit to a rigorous form of civilized government. They could not shake themselves wholly free from the instinctive wildness that characterized them and had been let loose in the past epoch ; it remained in the blood though modified by Christian influence and slender education. Since the time that Moshesh led them out of an animal state along the path of progress they had certainly made great strides ; his reputation had to be respected, it was indeed worshipped ; his character and policy left their mark on the nation. That policy had introduced a British Resident and Regulations which had to be observed if protection was to endure. The question

for them was, how to obey without loss of independence or allowing interference with immemorial customs most precious in their sight. The question for Mr. Bowker, at whose disposal Mr. Austen was placed as a magistrate in the south, was how to make a show of government without force to strike evil-doers.

Matters relating to the Convention being in satisfactory train and his extended term of office having expired, Sir Philip Wodehouse took his departure in May 1870 from South Africa where during eight years he had laboured incessantly through the maze of complications that beset him. His name has always been enshrined in the memory of the Basuto who have never forgotten that he sustained their cause generously and wrested them from the grip of their enemies. But for him Basutoland would in all probability have disappeared from the map of Africa.

During the next few months comparative quietness prevailed. Mr. Bowker retired, to be succeeded temporarily by Mr. W. H. Surmon. That officer and Mr. Austen took advantage of tranquillity to start a first collection of hut-tax which through the opposition of Masupha was only partially paid and yielded a sum of £3,700—more than sufficient for payment of administrative expenses. They further discussed with the nation in open Pitso a new set of Regulations drafted before his departure by Sir Philip Wodehouse. While not giving entire satisfaction they were adopted provisionally with certain modifications pending reference to England.

The last day of December 1870, Sir Henry Barkly arrived at Cape Town as successor to Sir Philip

Wodehouse. Some anxiety naturally felt in the Lesuto as to whether this indicated a change of policy was soon set at rest by the new High Commissioner proceeding there in March 1871. He had evidently made up his mind to act quickly upon instructions received prior to leaving England to the effect, in opposition to the views of his predecessor, that Basutoland must be annexed as soon as possible either to Natal or Cape Colony. Her Majesty's Government were not favourable to a continuation of Imperial administration which entailed a liability for financial assistance if local taxation failed to supply adequate funds. Sir Henry Barkly, who displayed anxiety to sever the Imperial connection, abruptly announced his intention to take immediate steps for annexation of Basutoland to the Cape Colony and for the appointment of additional magistrates to maintain order until it could be done. He quartered the country into native districts, giving Masupha that of Berea on the understanding that he would dismantle the fortress at Thaba Bosigo and remove thence. Masupha affected to obey but on the departure of the Governor returned and there remained for the rest of his life.

Satisfied in his mind that the Chiefs were unanimously in favour of his proposals, although it was not the case, the Governor on his return to Cape Town introduced to Parliament a Bill for the annexation of Basutoland to Cape Colony. It met with severe opposition on the ground that the measure was unduly precipitated before either Parliament or the Basuto had been allowed time to consider its bearings or confer with each other ; but it was eventually passed in

August 1871. It provided amongst other things that the rules in operation should not be disturbed nor should the laws of the Cape Colony be made to prevail and that legislative authority should vest in the Governor and High Commissioner. In November 1871 the Bill received the Queen's assent whereupon Basutoland ceased existence as a Crown Protectorate and became to all intents and purposes a Native Reserve administered by the Cape Colony, with officers responsible to its Parliament.

Under this régime the country was divided into four magisterial districts, viz. Leribe, Berea, Thaba Bosigo and Cornet Spruit, presided over as Chief Magistrate and Governor's Agent by Mr. C. D. Griffith. The system of administration was regulated by a Code promulgated by the Governor on November 6, 1871, in amplification of that of Sir Philip Wodehouse from which it varied in the following principal respects:—

Killing, in future, to be murder ;

Offences punishable by death to be tried by a combined court of three magistrates ;

The practice of witchcraft to be prohibited ;

All compulsion to marry, or submit to vicious ceremonies, to cease ;

Widows to be allowed to remarry and hold possession of children ;

The right of allotting land for occupation to be vested in the Governor ;

Appeals to lie from the chief's court to magistrates in tribal cases.

These Regulations formed the constitution under which the affairs of the territory were conducted. To some extent they were regarded by the nation as highly objectionable, introducing novelties that served no useful purpose, for, where obnoxious, they were not obeyed and it was beyond the power of the Agent to enforce any against the public will. Resentment in particular was shown by the Chiefs to the manner in which their prerogative was ignored, to the interference with their rights in allotting land for cultivation, and to the disturbance of their customs relating to marriage and succession of property.

Subsequently inquiry was ordered by Parliament as to the operation of the Regulations having regard to existing native law and custom. The influence of Christianity had not penetrated far and there was intense jealousy to guard a tribal system which seemed to be threatened. This caused an undercurrent of mistrust of meddlesome politicians who imagined that natives could be civilized by legislation and whose eagerness to promote improvement led them to suggest suppression of national observances held in reverence which Her Majesty's Government had promised should not be hindered unless highly repugnant.

The result was that a considerable section of the tribe headed by Letsie, with a view to securing a hearing before laws binding upon them were passed at Cape Town, presented a remarkable Petition praying for representation in Parliament.

PETITION TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR HENRY BARKLY,  
K.C.B., GOVERNOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER,  
ETC., CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

“THABA BOSIGO, 25th February, 1872.

“The Petition of the Chiefs and inhabitants of Basutoland, now annexed to, and a part of, the Cape Colony, Humbly Showeth,—

“That Basutoland was lately an exclusively Crown Colony or possession acquired for Her Majesty by the free offer of its Chiefs and the people, repeated for many long years, in time of their good fortune as well as of their distress.

“That the expressed and true object of these repeated offers was that the Basutos might obtain that rest, security and quiet good government and happiness which Her Majesty’s subjects elsewhere enjoy. That regarding their disposition and desire for good government and civilization, the doubt which delayed their acceptance by Her Majesty as subjects must now be entirely removed, for they pay their taxes, support the law and live in quiet; and if their present state be considered, remembering calamities of a few years back, it will be seen that they are progressing and acquiring property by honest industry, with freedom from crime, in a manner fairly comparable with any other portion of Her Majesty’s dominions.

“That the other parts of the Colony were also at first a pure Crown possession; that the Sovereign has been graciously pleased from time to time from an early date, and in order greatly to increase the happi-

ness, progress and good government of the people, to grant them progressively increasing means of making their wishes, or even their misgivings, known to Government by Parliamentary representation, and proposes now largely to increase and strengthen that institution for the remainder of the Colony.

“That it is the earnest desire of Your Excellency’s humble petitioners that some very moderate share of this means of progress, civilization, good government and enlightened happiness may be graciously accorded to them also ; that there are reasons why it is still more desirable that Basutoland should be allowed some Parliamentary representation than any other part of the Colony, for they are to a great extent cut off from free inter-expression of intelligence and feeling with other portions by want of a common language and of newspapers, and but little can possibly be known about them by the Parliament or the Government of this Colony.

“That under the rule of their late beloved, far-seeing and enlightened Chief Moshesh, who trained and encouraged them to humanity, to the duties and privileges of a people, and to an earnest desire to become Her Majesty’s subjects, the Basutos acquired the habit of the most unlimited freedom for the very meanest of making their wants, opinions, and even misgivings, known in public council ; but now that the supreme rule of the country has passed to Her Majesty’s Government, which is beyond recognized constitutional accessibility, silence like the darkness of night has descended upon the people ; and with it the fears and misgivings which darkness begets.

“That your petitioners trust that this darkness may be indeed but that of the friendly night which precedes the happy dawn. That there are already subjects accumulating of great importance to them in their opinion on which they would desire discussion in fair and open council, with and in presence of their friends, their more enlightened and wise fellow-subjects. It appears also fitting that since Basutos pay taxes they should be represented where the disposal of these is discussed. That it is therefore the humble prayer of Your Excellency’s humble petitioners to Her Majesty’s Government, through Your Excellency, that such steps may be taken as may be deemed fitting to procure Basutos some representation in the council of government of the Colony of which their native country now forms an integral part.

“And your petitioners will ever pray, as in duty bound,

“THE CHIEF LETSIE ”

And other Representatives.

The prayer of the Petition was not granted for reasons set forth in a reply dated March 25, 1872, to the effect: that if the petitioners were allowed to elect representatives for the Colonial Parliament their country would in all respects be treated as a common part of the Cape Colony; in that case their native customs would be superseded by Colonial laws, Europeans would be entitled to acquire land and settle, and unoccupied land would be appropriated and sold by Government; no special regulations as to the sale of spirituous liquor, etc., could then be enforced, and



Basutoland would be debarred from all special legislation so essential to the wants of the people.

No doubt the privileges sought for in the Petition would, if granted, have carried changes entirely inconsistent with the wishes of the tribe as a whole who did not fully realize the consequences that would follow the concession.

However, a new era had dawned. There was Peace. Men could now come and go, earn wages and cultivate. The missionaries had all returned to renew their labours. There was a paternal form of Government with resident officers whose duty was to guide as well as protect. The people were now to live for the first time under a system admitting of healthy development if those responsible for their government were not too eager to hurry the process by destroying the community life instead of grafting upon it.

## CHAPTER XXIII

A period of tranquillity is followed by prosperity and progress. Langelibalele rebels in Natal, bolts into Basutoland, is captured and surrendered. Trial and escape of Doda lead up to Baphuti revolt: Moirosi's mountain is attacked twice with disastrous results: final assault and capture. Sir Gordon Sprigg goes to Basutoland and announces the policy of general disarmament which occasions great alarm

1872—1879

AFTER annexation to the Cape there followed a refreshing break in the story of bloodshed and uncertainty which had so long characterized the territory of Basutoland. As regulated administration by a civilized Government was asserting itself the people settled down to peaceful avocations thankful for the opportunity to renew the pursuit of agriculture, to rebuild their shattered villages and to occupy again without fear of molestation all the open spaces from which incessant wars had driven them. The next few years can therefore be passed over rapidly, for happily there is little to record not indicative of progress and contentment.

Writing in March 1873 after the first twelve months, a purely settling-down period, Mr. Griffith the

Governor's Agent was able to report a spirit of general cheerfulness, and confidence in the British Government; trade had developed, agriculture was brisk, ploughs introduced to replace hoes, hut-tax increasing; there were signs of progress, but little could be expected until resources became resuscitated after periods of exhausting wars. His first impressions of the three leading Chiefs are worthy of note. Letsie, he said, was a weak-minded ignorant man easily led by others; Molapo was ambitious, restless and unreliable; Masupha was impatient of control and openly defied the orders of Government to remove from Thaba Bosigo. But, as a whole the people appeared to be staunch in their loyalty.

One or two items of the first annual Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure are interesting. The total amount of fines and forfeitures to be derived from the entire population in respect of criminal cases tried in four magistrates' courts was to yield £69 (bearing in mind that imprisonment was only inflicted in grave offences); the estimate of fees in civil cases, £4 10s. There were to be 41 native police at a total annual cost of £402 and one postmaster at £6; expenses of witnesses £25, cost of prisoners in gaol £20; repair and maintenance of roads that ran to hundreds of miles, £10. With such hopeful anticipations of maintaining law and order at a low cost over 10,000 square miles, and such economical ideas, Basutoland started on its administrative career. Since that date it has never failed to pay its own way and to prosper financially without extraneous aid.

In January 1874 Mr. Griffith gave a comprehensive

review of the affairs of the country since it had come under effective administration. The state of the Basuto, he said, at the conclusion of the war when he took up his appointment in 1871 was most deplorable. Weakened by defection and desertion on every side and by the loss of about 2,000 men killed, reduced from considerable wealth and ease to complete poverty and destitution, and suffering from famine, they had no longer any force to oppose to their enemies. Their stock had been mostly captured or slaughtered, their ploughs and wagons, houses, clothes, money and moveable property captured or destroyed, whilst the people were so dispersed and intermingled that all organization was lost. Disheartened by constant defeat and cowardice they had lost confidence in their chiefs.

The mutual feuds and jealousies between one chief and another had been intensely embittered and all feeling of cohesion seemed lost. Owing to impoverishment and scarcity of food as well as to the unwholesome state of the caves in which they had lived, typhoid fevers had broken out everywhere carrying off their victims by the hundred. The Basuto were at the last gasp and must have succumbed and been broken up as a tribe had the British Government not stepped in. At the peace, the country occupied by them was reduced to one-half of its original extent; about 15,000 had migrated in despair; the remnant were crushed and humbled; clothed in ragged skins and emaciated they seemed to have sunk low in the human scale.

The condition here described resembled very much

that in which they were left after the devastating Zulu incursions related in earlier chapters.

Proceeding with his report Mr. Griffith stated that the generous policy of the Government and the debt of gratitude the Basuto owe to it will always form a powerful ground of appeal to their feelings and prove the strongest claim which could be urged upon them in favour of submission and obedience. The delay however in ratification of the Aliwal Convention and recognition as British subjects had unsettled their minds and diminished the influence of Government during the interregnum preceding his arrival. But he went on to say that, at the moment, a thorough confidence in the Government and its administration of the laws seemed to prevail everywhere: the revenue was collected without difficulty, crime was rare and during the year 1873 only five cases of stock-stealing were reported from the Orange Free State where formerly they were counted by hundreds; the trading stations had increased from six to fifty; 100,000 bags of grain and 2,000 bales of wool were exported. The French missionaries had fully resumed their labours with a roll of 2,000 scholars in over 50 elementary schools and two Training Institutions for the higher education of teachers. To crown the success of this short administrative period there was a credit balance in hand of £14,955 after discharging all liabilities.

During November 1873 unfortunate occurrences in Natal led to native unrest into which the Basuto were indirectly drawn. Langelibalele, chief of the Hlubi tribe living in the Colony of Natal under the Drakensberg at the sources of the Bushman's River, placed

himself in an attitude of rebellion and, after treacherously attacking a force sent to reduce him to obedience and killing three white men and two native police, ascended the mountains with several hundred men and a mob of cattle to seek refuge in Basutoland where it was believed he would find sympathy and help.

The Cape Government, in response to an urgent requisition from Natal for co-operation, realizing its responsibility for Basutoland, immediately despatched a body of Cape Mounted Police to the northern border to intercept the refugees on that side, whilst Mr. Orpen the British Resident in Nomansland was directed to prevent their movement towards St. John's River and Pondoland where people of their own kindred were living.

Mr. Griffith called upon the Basuto Chiefs to show their loyalty by refusing sanctuary to the rebels and at the same time persuaded Molapo, whose fidelity was greatly doubted, to send a strong party into the mountains to attack them *en route*. This party under Molapo's senior son Jonathan fell in with the fugitives who though planted in a strong position were being hopelessly surrounded by forces converging from all sides. Jonathan, not feeling himself strong enough to attack, assumed an attitude of friendship which led Langalibalele to trust himself to his guidance towards the residence of Molapo at Leribe. Upon notification of his arrival in the vicinity being given by Major Bell the Magistrate, Mr. Griffith proceeded at once to the spot with a detachment of Mounted Police and arrested the fugitive chief with his five sons and councillors. Subsequently the main body of the rebels on hearing

their chief was a prisoner allowed themselves to be disarmed ; but a determined band held out for some time in a deep kloof until dislodged by a bold attack under Inspector W. H. Surmon whose gallant services on the occasion received special notice. Shortly afterwards Langalibalele and his followers were handed over to the custody of the Natal Government for trial.

Although thanks were publicly expressed by the Cape Government to Letsie and the Basuto Chiefs for their loyal behaviour and acknowledged by them, it was ever afterwards amongst themselves a matter of tribal reproach that they had lent themselves so readily—even treacherously—to the capture of Langalibalele. Masupha in particular resented the action of the tribe and privately encouraged the refugees to expect help. They were influenced of course by the military preparations for his punishment conducted by the combined Colonies. But what tempted Molapo and those who joined him more than anything else to play the part they did was the greedy hope of gaining the cattle of the rebels amounting to seven thousand. In this they suffered some disappointment, for Natal claimed surrender of the whole lot, and it was only after the interchange of some acrimonious correspondence that Mr. Griffith succeeded in retaining a portion, viz. 2,000, for distribution to the Basuto in terms of his promise that the spoil should be theirs.

Reviewing the conduct of affairs of 1874, Mr. Griffith reported in 1875 having held the first great National Pitso at which all the Chiefs and people were invited to express their opinions and grievances. Such annual assembly was, he pointed out, of high

political value ; it enabled the Government to acquaint the people of the laws and regulations in vogue, to correct wrong impressions and to mould public thought ; it made the people feel they were governed, not as slaves but as men ; it was a safety-valve of the best description allowing men to unburden their minds and seek for information and guidance ; by such a rough form of parliament could their voice be heard. Two items of interest emerge from the year, viz. (1) the balance to the credit of the revenue account rose to £21,500 ; (2) the vote for native education was increased from £226 to £3,524, although only £1,350 was spent upon it.

The next two years were marked by quietness and prosperity. A rough census in the interval gave the total native population as 127,523. The reports of the Governor's Agent and Magistrates for those years encouraged the hope that the general improvement, which had exceeded the most sanguine expectations, would be maintained.

The following year 1877 witnessed several political changes. Sir Henry Barkly was succeeded as High Commissioner by Sir Bartle Frere. Mr. Griffith whose term of office as Governor's Agent had been characterized by unswerving justice, kindliness of disposition, sympathetic treatment and readiness in emergency was removed from Basutoland for military duty in connection with the Gaika and Gcaleka rebellions, and replaced alternately by the Rev. E. S. Rolland, formerly one of the French missionaries, and Mr. J. H. Bowker. The country south of the Orange River occupied by the Baphuti under Moirosi and other clans, which had





From a photograph lent by Miss Frere.

SIR BARILE FRERE, BART.



at intervals been detached from Basutoland, was now brought definitely into it as a district called Quthing and placed under a separate Magistrate whose jurisdiction extended through the Drakensberg along the course of the Orange to the Mont-aux-Sources.

Whether the abrupt manner in which this was done, without, as it was alleged by the Paramount Chief Letsie, consulting the Chiefs concerning a redistribution of their tribal influence ; or whether Mr. Hope, the new Magistrate at Quthing, was to blame for irritating interference with purely native matters that were better left alone and for overbearing towards the Baphuti who had not previously been subjected to rigorous government, a great deal of discontent was displayed by Moirosi in particular who showed a marked disposition to be disobedient to orders and threatening of demeanour. Matters came to a head early in 1878 when Mr. Hope issued a writ for payment of arrear tax against some people living under Doda a son of Moirosi. The tax in question was payable chiefly by certain widows who were liable at law inasmuch as they enjoyed the lands occupied by their late husbands ; but it appeared that the previous Magistrate Mr. Austen had exempted them in terms of powers vested in him. Under instructions from Doda these people resisted execution of the writ and then all sought asylum in fortified caves overlooking the Orange River. Mr. Hope thereupon demanded the surrender of Doda for defying the law ; Moirosi appealed against this demand and sent in the amount of money required to satisfy the writ ; but it was refused and returned.

After considerable delay Moirosi was, under pressure

from Letsie and Lerothodi, induced to surrender for trial his son Doda who was tried, convicted of theft, resistance to lawful authority and other offences and sentenced to four years' imprisonment. During the trial it transpired that Doda whilst in the caves was hatching plans for open rebellion. Whilst detained in a small lock-up at Quthing awaiting transfer to a convict station, he, together with confederates in custody, was forcibly released and helped to escape on the 1st January 1879. Later inquiries established beyond doubt that the arrangements for guarding the lock-up were so grossly inadequate as to invite escape.

It then became a question for the Government as to whether they had now to deal with the escaped prisoner only or whether his father Moirosi and the Basuto Chiefs were behind the movement. Other issues contributed to place that point in doubt. At the National Pitso in the previous October Mr. (now Colonel) Griffith had announced that it was the intention of Government to disarm all its native population. This announcement had sent a tremor of excitement and alarm through the entire country. The Basuto recalled their experience of British adoption and abandonment; they had had many times to fight for dear life, and might have to do so again. They were apprehensive of the attitude of some of the Magistrates whose published reports advocated suppression of the power of chieftainship. Naturally therefore the Chiefs evinced jealousy of their threatened influence and their people, unquestionably devoted to them, followed and supported them. The matter of Doda made them pause to consider secretly the national situation.

Matters ripened upon intelligence that Doda was secreted on the top of Moirosi's mountain, one of the most powerful fortresses in Basutoland which from time immemorial had defied attack. The Cape Government interpreted this as a signal of revolt and thereupon directed Moirosi to be informed that he was held responsible for his son's acts and surrender ; failing that, he, Moirosi, would be coerced and punished and constitutional authority restored. Whilst negotiations were proceeding, Mr. Austen, then acting as Magistrate, upon misleading information as to the hostile intentions towards him of Moirosi, vacated with his staff the seat of magistracy at Quthing and retired upon Palmeitfontein in Cape Colony. This unfortunate movement led the natives in the district to regard it as a declaration of war and themselves as rebels ; it precipitated an outbreak for, in the absence of all authority, they looted the property of Europeans, demolished the magistracy buildings, attacked the loyalists who remained behind and threw the district into a state of warlike disorder.

In March 1879 active operations for the subjection of Moirosi were in full swing. Colonel Griffith, reinstated as Governor's Agent, calling upon the Basuto Chiefs for loyal assistance against the rebels marched as Commandant-General with a strong contingent of natives to the Orange River ; upon his order to attack the mountain, Lerothodi made military displays resulting only in the capture of herds of cattle. Simultaneously, Cape Colonial forces of Cape Mounted Rifles, Yeomanry, volunteers and native allies concentrated from all sides. Meanwhile Moirosi and a

section of the Basuto in sympathy with him tried hard to induce the tribes in Kaffraria to make common cause.

Early in April Colonel Griffith, after completing the investment and clearing the enemy out of menacing positions in the neighbourhood, ordered a combined assault upon the stronghold which has been rightly described as one of the most formidable and defensible in the whole of Basutoland. Standing at an elbow of the Orange River, of longitudinal shape about one mile long and half a mile broad with ample water supply, it presents the appearance of impregnability with towering perpendicular cliffs all around it. On the south-east side only was ascent possible up a steep zigzag course intersected with stone walls at close intervals and bastions at every angle commanding by cross fire the entire line of approach. These were tenaciously held by the Baphuti who were good marksmen. The assault, carried out principally by the Cape Mounted Rifles under Captains Grant and Surmon, was resolutely made but failed to grip even the lowest line of fortifications. The enemy stood firm at the breastworks hurling stones and assegais at close quarters upon their assailants who had to retire with the loss of 22 killed and wounded.

On May 29 a picquet of yeomanry, holding an advanced strategic position at the junction of the Orange and Quthing rivers whilst off their guard sleeping in tents against orders, were surprised by an outlying body of Baphuti and badly cut up, 21 out of 47 being killed and wounded. At this juncture Colonel Griffith handed over command to Colonel Brabant who

on arrival of reinforcements directed another assault on June 5. After preparing the way by prolonged bombardment of the schanses an assault was attempted from three sides, but out of a storming party of 150 only 78 under Captain O'Connor reached the first ledge of fortifications ; finding it was hopeless to pursue the attack they were compelled to retire with 14 casualties. The military reports go to show that the storming parties, nearly always composed of that gallant regiment the Cape Mounted Rifles, made splendid efforts, several instances of heroic conduct being recorded, but were repulsed in consequence of want of cohesion and support by other corps or native contingents.

Assaults of this character carried out under defective organization resulted not only in the loss of many brave lives but in the mischievous confidence it gave to the beleaguered garrison who, bold as they must be admitted to be, were led to think that the courage of their assailants was exhausted. That of course was a fatal error, for the Cape Government had determined to vindicate its authority at all cost.

During an interval that followed, Moïrosi was given a chance to capitulate. The Premier, Sir Gordon Sprigg, in a palaver with him midway up the mountain offered terms subject to unconditional surrender, which however the Chief refused. Colonel Brabant then received instructions not to incur the risk of further reverses by attack until the force at his command had been supplemented, and to content himself meanwhile with a rigorous investment.

During the next two or three months, whilst re-organization preparatory to a renewal of operations

was taking place, a Select Committee of the Cape Parliament inquired into the origin and conduct of hostilities. The evidence before that Committee indicated plainly that excess of zeal on the part of certain Magistrates by too rigid application of law in tribal matters, the unseasonable withdrawal of Mr. Austen from the Quthing district, and the alarm occasioned by the menace of disarmament were contributory causes of the outbreak. It was clear that the Paramount Chief Letsie and other Chiefs, if they did not sympathize with Moirosi, had no heart in the feeble efforts they pretended at the call of Government to make for his subjection. Otherwise it would soon have ended for several thousand of them were in the field affecting loyal co-operation ; their moral influence alone if genuinely exerted would have enforced surrender of Moirosi whose strength upon the mountain did not exceed two or three hundred fighting men. The defence indeed could not have been prolonged but for the aid and encouragement it covertly received from a section of the Basuto who, though having no desire to quarrel with the Cape Government, were convulsed with the dread of disarmament and were in no mood to compass the downfall of a clan protecting their flank whose aid would be essential if the nation became generally involved.

It was not until the month of October 1879 that Colonel Bayly arrived to assume military command on conditions laid down by himself that he should not be interfered with and that his own fine regiment the Cape Mounted Rifles should alone be employed. His artillerymen were splendid but his guns inferior ;





From a water-colour drawing by Mr. S. Barrett.

MOHOSI'S MOUNTAIN.



a mortar with high trajectory to drop shells over the parapets was badly required. The only one they had was seventy years old and the fuses so un-serviceable as to be dangerous to the gunners. However, with the material at his disposal he carried breastworks forward under cover of the guns and gradually closed in under the cliffs ; but not until November 3 were preparations for assault completed and the order for it given.

The task before the stormers was, after rushing a succession of stiff barricades, to reach the foot of a precipice seventy feet high at the crest of which lay a fissure in the rock for some distance, so narrow that only one man at a time could traverse it. To gain that fissure was the objective ; to mount the precipice scaling-ladders were required. When the signal was given by rockets as the moon dipped soon after midnight a wild cheer went up as the Cape Mounted Rifles with their ladders swarmed up the heights ; Lieut. Springer valiantly fought his way to the top alone ; but others quickly followed and then forming line with fixed bayonets charged across the plateau carrying everything before them. As the sun rose the Cape Mounted Rifles were in possession, those of the garrison who survived throwing themselves in desperation down the heights. The force and rapidity of the assault were such that scarcely any loss ensued to the gallant corps that carried it out. Moirosi, some of his sons and most of his followers were shot ; Doda, the original cause of the trouble, and some others took a perilous leap into the Orange River where many perished.

The reduction of the fortress had occupied more or less ten months and cost a lot of money. After reoccupation of the district by Government and resumption of order everything seemed to favour another reign of peace in the country ; but hopes of that were soon to be disappointed. As previously mentioned, at the National Pitso of the year before a note had been sounded by Colonel Griffith according to orders in respect of a contemplated general disarmament. That announcement had given rise to intense agitation though it took no demonstrative form. From most of the magistrates, missionaries, traders and reliable native officials, all living in Basutoland, there flowed a stream of respectful but firm remonstrance against it. The fear of it, they said, had changed the demeanour of the people, a spirit of distrust animating even those loyal to Government. The feeling of unrest and discontent was emphasized by proposals made at the moment for surveying into farms for European exploitation the whole Quthing district south of the Orange River formerly under Moirosi, thus expropriating a choice part of Basutoland. Nothing could have tended more to exasperate the Basuto than these two measures.

Sir Bartle Frere the High Commissioner in various despatches and particularly in one of September 22, 1879, stated he had urged upon his Ministry the grave necessity for caution in dealing with the Basuto whose circumstances differed absolutely from other tribes ; he suggested the liberal granting of licenses for approved persons to hold guns instead of disarmament. Had that proposal been followed dis-

creetly all might have been well. But the Prime Minister who was either misinformed or under a wrong impression as regards public feeling favoured no compromise. He informed the Governor that the Peace Preservation Act giving power to dispossess the natives of arms could in his opinion be applied to Basutoland as it had been elsewhere without fear of open resistance. With this conviction in his mind he deprecated half-measures and lost no opportunity of letting his intentions be known.

In order to make it clear what those intentions were, Sir Gordon Sprigg personally attended the annual National Pitso of the Basuto held at Maseru on October 17, 1879, just prior to the fall of Moirosi's mountain. At that Pitso he said :—

“The Government has been much relieved during the progress of the rebellion by the fact that you, the Basuto, have taken no part with the rebel chief Moirosi ; notwithstanding the great temptation to which you have been subjected on account of the endeavours which have been made to draw you from your allegiance you have remained faithful. The Government appreciates your loyalty and fidelity, and regards you as having set a noble example to the rest of the native inhabitants of South Africa.”

He then referred to certain plans the Government had under consideration for their advancement in future with regard to education, roads, bridges, etc., for which purposes it would be necessary to double their taxation ; money would also be required for increase of the police force to put down stock-stealing ;

yet he was bound to confess that the tribe was almost exemplary in that respect, President Brand having assured him that stealing on the border, formerly so rife, was now almost unknown. Finally he declared the settled policy of his Government to carry out disarmament, though not assigning a date, a policy he believed the Basuto would be too loyal and too wise to resist.

Altogether, it was a most extraordinary method of procedure. A sensitive and high-spirited nation eulogized for their fidelity, praised for their example, trusted for future loyalty, yet in the same breath most inopportunately admonished to pay a double tax, for which no occasion whatever had then arisen, and to surrender guns to which they were passionately attached.

The people were of course invited to speak in reply. They did so at great length but in measured terms. Letsie and the principal Chiefs preserved a most significant silence upon the important subject that was harrowing the feelings of the nation. All persons conversant with natives read from that silence the warning that indignation lay behind it. By a custom commonly understood, junior Chiefs were put up to voice the public mind when their seniors found it expedient to be guarded in their utterances. The sentiments of the multitude were wrapped up in the following sentences extracted from a flood of oratory :—

TSEKELO (son of Moshesh): We are to be disarmed, not because we have done any evil, but just

because our colour is black. . . . To take away our arms would be to tear out our hearts from inside our bosoms. I do not say we will fight but you are breaking our hearts: . . . we wish to convey our tears and protest.

LEROTHODI (son of Letsie): If we have committed a crime and have trifled with the peace of the Queen, then let it be said right out to us. . . . All that I have got to say is that my gun belongs to the Queen and that I will follow the Queen about with this gun wherever she goes, *and I will stick to it.*

The following day the Prime Minister held a special meeting of Chiefs and Councillors which was conspicuous for the absence of the three great sons of Moshesh, viz. Letsie the Paramount Chief and his brothers Molapo and Masupha; they pleaded illness. Sir Gordon Sprigg continued under the strange delusion that the people were favourable to his proposals. He said: "I have first to thank you for the readiness with which you acceded to the proposal to increase the hut-tax." (That was not the case.) "On the subject of disarmament, I stated yesterday to you frankly what was the policy of the Government and asked for your sincere opinions; and I must say that I heard nothing which induced me to think it desirable that the Government should change its designs in that respect. . . . I find that the possession of a gun on your part is a mere sentiment; some of you think it makes a man of you to have a gun. The Government, your father, does not think so."

To those remarks culled from a long address, the

Chiefs present replied at length but the following extracts convey what they meant :—

SOFONIA MOSHESH : . . . I may recall to your mind the abandonment of the Sovereignty by the Government. Now suppose the Government were to take it into its head to abandon us, where would we be without our guns? We are perfectly comfortable and happy under the Queen while we retain our guns. . . .

GEORGE MOSHESH : . . . It grieves me that I am to be disarmed without any battle just as if we had been fighting the Queen, for this is treatment given to conquered enemies. . . . If a child is crying for a plaything it is dangerous to take it away ; leave him alone and perhaps he will presently lay it down himself. . . .

TSEKELO MOSHESH : If the Government thinks that by taking away a few rotten guns it will prevent war, I do not agree ; the real remedy is to take away all the causes of dissatisfaction that are likely to produce war. . . . As long as we are under the Government of the Queen we have no use for our guns, but the hearts of the people cling to them just as the Indians cling to their wooden idols.

SEETA MOSHESH : . . . We love our guns, and we beseech to be allowed to keep them : I repeat it, I beseech you ; and I repeat it a third time, I beseech you.

Sir Gordon Sprigg in a memorable speech closing the meeting made the following questionable statement :—



“The Government of the Queen in England approves of this disarmament policy, and not only the present Government but the whole people of England approve of it.”

His final words were: “I must, however, say in conclusion, that there may be no mistake on the subject, that the policy of disarmament which was announced to you last year by Colonel Griffith and which has been announced to you by myself at this Pitso, is still the policy of the Government ; that I hope you will not forget the words I have spoken to you on the subject of giving up your guns, for you may rest assured that the Government will stand firmly by that policy, and when the proper time arrives instructions will be given to your magistrates to take your guns.”

The personal mission of the Prime Minister as described by him to the Basuto originally was :—

“The Government of the Queen in this country stands before you to-day ; it has come to see you with its eyes and to hear you with its ears, that it may understand what are the wants of this people in Basutoland, and how it can best advance the interests of the people. . . . The Government brings to you a message of peace and goodwill.”

The Chiefs had answered, not in the words of Scripture, “What hast thou to do with peace?” Sir Gordon Sprigg undoubtedly felt that his action was justified by stern necessity and by the desire to promote the happiness and prosperity of Basutoland. But

he had strung the feelings of a mettlesome people, had plunged the country into a state of miserable unsettlement and had fired off an ultimatum for surrender of guns which no sane person acquainted with their character believed they would relinquish without a struggle. It was a cruel set-back after ten years of progress that looked so promising.

The confiding Basuto found themselves upon the horns of a dilemma. If they refused to be disarmed it meant a charge of ingratitude towards the Government of the Queen who had befriended them and, further, either a war with the British or abandonment—possibly both. If they gave up their guns they would be emasculated. Whichever way they looked it up and down the prospect was dark.



BISHOP JOLIVET DECLINING TO BE PHOTOGRAPHED  
BY A STRANGER.



## CHAPTER XXIV

The policy of disarmament is adopted, and approved by Sir Bartle Frere: the Basuto petition against it in vain: Peace Preservation Act proclaimed and surrender of guns ordered: some loyals respond but in general it is resisted and war ensues: some disasters follow and large force of burghers is called out: rebellion spreads to other tribes: the Pondomisi murder their Magistrate: Sir Bartle Frere recalled and succeeded by Sir Hercules Robinson who endeavours to bring about peace: the Cape Government in despair proposes abandonment

1879—1882

WHILST the Basuto were pondering over the fate of Moirosi and his Baphuti and trying to realize what had brought this disaster upon their friends at the Orange River, they were bewildered with the new trouble respecting disarmament so inauspiciously thrust upon them. True it was that a year ago the alarm sounded; but, though some declared they saw the handwriting on the wall, the tribe as a whole had scarcely anticipated it seriously unless some sound cause was offered, which they had not offered. The Chiefs were therefore ill-prepared for the emergency.

The case for the Cape Government is to be found

in despatches of the year 1880 addressed by the High Commissioner to the Secretary of State, based upon memoranda supplied by the Ministry. Sir Bartle Frere seems at first to have been animated by a sense of extreme caution on the subject. But at a later date he was completely won over to the views of Sir Gordon Sprigg, and then, full of conviction that it was right, lent himself with all his dialectic skill to prove the necessity and wisdom of applying to Basutoland the Peace Preservation Act which had been imposed with apparent success upon other tribes in the Colony.

The following in brief represents the views he expressed :—

He was advised and sincerely believed that a Proclamation making the possession and carrying of arms illegal, quietly and persistently enforced, would speedily lead to effectual and voluntary disarmament, compensation for the value being of course granted. The underlying intention was to remove an obvious temptation to resist lawful authority and even to rebellion. Though the Basuto had many excellent qualities they retained a characteristic weakness of inordinate vanity and sense of self-importance. The measure was not intended as a punishment but to assimilate the system to that of all other peaceful populations ; the possession of a gun was a direct incentive to insubordination and war and, as such, exercised an evil influence upon national conduct and character ; nothing could be more foolish than to wait for insurrection before putting in force a measure of the kind. As far back as 1878 the Basuto were informed of the intention

to disarm them but there were good reasons then for withholding action ; the delay unfortunately increased rather than diminished the difficulty which was aggravated by the fact that the question was made one of political partisanship in the Colony and that the natives had been encouraged to resist by a section of the press and some missionaries of influence. The Colonial Government had to consider whether, the measure being just and necessary, it was prudent to give way to threats of resistance.

There could be, Sir Bartle Frere held, no two opinions on such a point. He concluded a despatch of March 19, 1880, by urging Her Majesty's Government to approve the measure of disarmament in Basutoland to which his ministers were pledged. "I cannot," he said, "imagine any process directed to effect a great and beneficial change in the habits of a people which could have been more cautiously adopted. . . . I do not in the least wish to underestimate the gravity of the position in Basutoland. I can only say that its gravest features are the result, not of any defect in the measure itself, not of any indisposition or disloyalty on the part of the people required to obey the laws, but mainly through the agency of mistaken friends of the people, who make use of their influence to incite them to oppose the law ; and I further hold that from the date when the Prime Minister pledged himself to carry out the Act in Basutoland, it has been practically impossible for the Government to withdraw, even if any better arguments had been urged for the withdrawal."

The last passage of that despatch contains the whole

point. It was found practically impossible for the Cape Government to withdraw from pledges and threats they had ill-advisedly made.

Her Majesty's Government in telegrams signified that, as it appeared disarmament would lead to trouble, grave caution was necessary ; but the Secretary of State declined to interfere with the responsibility of the Cape Ministry who were given to understand they must settle their own troubles without the aid of Imperial troops. Then on May 13 Lord Kimberley wrote that as the measure had been put into execution he could not discuss the question with advantage. Her Majesty's Government could have supported it or declined to approve. They did neither but left the Colonial Government to drift along after their pledges until a serious collapse of the undertaking gave them occasion to condemn the whole policy and to recall the High Commissioner who had sanctioned it.

In the Memoirs<sup>1</sup> of Sir Bartle Frere the attitude of the Imperial Government at this juncture is aptly described :—

“The British Government had two courses open to them. They might have supported the disarmament, or, if they really considered the disarmament unjustifiable, they might have directed Frere, or his successor, to forbid any movement against the Basuto by the Colonial forces. Mr. Sprigg, the Colonial Secretary, would unquestionably have acquiesced, however unwillingly, in such a direction, for, on taking

<sup>1</sup> “Life of Sir Bartle Frere,” by James Martineau.



office in 1878, he had given adhesion to the constitutional principle that the Colonial forces are under the orders of the Queen's Commander-in-Chief. Lord Kimberley took neither course. He gave moral support to the Basuto while acquiescing in the action of the Colonial forces in endeavouring to disarm them. The result was the unfortunate Basuto war which broke out immediately after Frere's departure. . . . Nothing could be more indefensible than the course taken by the British Government in thus repudiating responsibility. It left the conviction on the minds of the colonists and assented to the principle that the Crown had abdicated its prerogative of declaring war and peace and that in future the Government of a Colony might levy war on its own responsibility."

The case for the Basuto was pleaded warmly by the Rev. A. Mabile a prominent French missionary and by many other advocates, but was set forth particularly in a lengthy Petition dated January 21, 1880, addressed in duplicate to the High Commissioner and Secretary of State. Much correspondence on the subject subsequently passed but the Petition of which the following are extracts represented views from which they did not vary.

#### PETITION OF BASUTO CHIEFS AND PEOPLE

"We, Letsie, Paramount Chief, together with other chiefs and headmen of Basutoland . . . pray you to listen with patience to what we have to say in our

defence. We find it is a very hard thing to obey this law passed by the Colonial Government. We dare not refuse to give up our arms, but it will be a most painful duty to obey and surrender our property. . . . In no wise can it be said that we mean rebellion.

“We would pray you to remember, for a space of eleven years we have been living under the Queen’s Government in tranquillity and peace, . . . progressing in all good things, our children being educated, . . . and we are all obeying the laws made for our guidance and protection. We have been told over and over again that we were dutiful and faithful. . . . We have done our utmost to obey our magistrates faithfully and loyally; therefore may we not confidently ask, what have we done that the Government should disarm us? . . .

“We would like to refer you to the manner in which Basutoland was accepted by Her Majesty. . . . It was then said to be a part of the Empire . . . under the control of the Governor as High Commissioner. He, the Governor, then put his own Agent there—Mr. Bowker. . . . We had no relationship with the Cape Parliament, we had to do with the High Commissioner alone. If arrangements have changed we have not been told. . . . Mr. Bowker told us the disarmament law would have no authority in Basutoland and we need not be afraid.

“Some time since we asked permission to send Delegates to the Colonial Parliament. . . . Sir Henry Barkly replied that if the Basuto were allowed to elect representatives for the Colonial Parliament . . . the Basuto would be placed in a similar position to

the ordinary Kaffir population . . . and their native customs superseded by Colonial laws . . . and that the state of things would be very different from that contemplated by Moshesh. . . . Therefore the Queen deems it detrimental to the welfare of her Basuto subjects to sanction the change.

“Is not this a strong proof that we ought not to be subjected to laws made by the Colonial Parliament ? . . . If our position is such as is stated by Sir H. Barkly no person can say we are discussing on false premises. . . . Where do we stand ? Whether we are governed by the High Commissioner or by the Cape Parliament ? . . . We pray that when some law is laid upon us which might be too heavy for us we may at all times be allowed to make these difficulties known to you before the law is enforced.

“We were told in the annual Pitso of October last we might speak out all our thoughts and not keep anything back and whatever did not satisfy us the Government would try and arrange it. We then spoke of our not understanding why we were to be disarmed ; and yet we are now told we must submit although no one has been able to show in what way we have offended. . . .

“We say that the question of disarmament has terrified us. We are asking among ourselves what has the Government in view when it desires to obtain our arms. We are afraid and anxious and would gladly be reassured, the more so as the Colonial Secretary Mr. Sprigg distinctly said no force should be used . . . nor would he do this thing suddenly. . . . Have we not the right to suppose that we are dis-

armed because we are black and are therefore not trusted ? . . .

“ We end this our humble petition by saying that we do most humbly lay our prayer at your feet that we should not be disarmed. Have pity upon us and allow us to remain most faithful and loyal subjects of the Queen, retaining our arms. This prayer is the prayer of all.

“ The Paramount Chief, LETSIE, his X mark.”

This petition was followed by a striking letter from the Governor's Agent Colonel Griffith which should have made the Cape Government halt ; but it had no effect.

“ THE GOVERNOR'S AGENT, BASUTOLAND

*“ 26 January 1880.*

“ TO THE HONOURABLE THE SECRETARY  
FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS, CAPE TOWN.

“ SIR,

“ With reference to the various measures which have been recently introduced by the Government into this territory, I have the honour most respectfully to point out to you that in carrying out these measures an excessive strain is being put upon the loyalty of the Basutos, and also upon the influence of the Government officers in this territory, who have for the last nine years so ably assisted me in maintaining order and in elevating the people to their present state of civilization.

“ The measures in question, and those to which I

would particularly draw your attention as being of such grave moment that any hasty or incautious action might result in consequences not only disastrous to the peace of this country, but which would seriously affect the general welfare of the whole Colony, are the following :—

“ *First*.—The appropriation of the large sum of £12,500 from the surplus revenues of this territory.

“ *Secondly*.—Calling upon Basutos to give up their arms.

“ *Thirdly*.—Depriving the Basuto of that part of Basutoland which was recently occupied by the Chief Moirosi and a part of his tribe, and who, together with the Basutos, occupied the whole territory as a homogeneous tribe and people.

“ *Fourthly*.—Doubling the hut-tax.

“ Had any of these measures been introduced at different times, and with a sufficient interval elapsing between the introduction of each, the strain would not have been so great ; but considering that they have been introduced simultaneously and so suddenly that the native mind, which it is well known is averse to innovations of any kind, has been unable to grasp clearly the intention of Government, and to discern the advantages to be derived, I cannot but feel that I have been placed in an equivocal position, one which must naturally create a wide gap in that good feeling which has hitherto existed between the whole nation and myself as their ‘ Father ’ and the Government Representative.

“ While assuring you that no effort will be wanting

on my part to carry out the instructions which I have received, it may not be out of place for me here to draw your attention to the fact that I have now had the honour to serve Her Majesty in different positions of difficulty and trust with an unsullied reputation for thirty-two years, and therefore I am loth to run the risk of losing this hard-won reputation without raising one warning note, in order that the Government may fully understand the difficulty which I shall have to contend with in carrying out the measures which have been introduced into this territory.

“I have, etc.,

“(Signed) CHARLES D. GRIFFITH,  
“Governor’s Agent.”

The Basuto had, apart from the sentimental side, a strong position in claiming exemption from operation of the Cape Peace Preservation Act because, when annexed to the Cape Colony in 1871, the express provision was made that their territory should not “by virtue of its annexation be or become subject to the general law of the Colony.” And, in announcing the Act of Annexation Sir Henry Barkly wrote a letter to Letsie stating that it involved no change whatever in the status of Basutoland. So that, although the Governor had the right to legislate by Proclamation in any way he thought fit, there existed every reason to assume that a pledge had been given not to violate the terms under which annexation was accomplished in respect of the application of Colonial laws.

Against this view the Cape Government in a minute

of February 26, 1880, contended that the circumstances had been completely changed by the introduction in 1872 of Responsible Government, the practical effect of which was *ipso facto* to place the Cape Colony, including Basutoland, under the exclusive authority of the Governor and his Ministers who were responsible only to the Legislature of the Colony ; under that constitution the Governor could no longer act alone in the affairs of Basutoland ; his executive acts would follow upon the advice of his responsible advisers ; hence it was competent for him to proclaim the Peace Preservation Act.

But, supposing this to be the strictly legal position, it was nevertheless hard for the Basuto to understand the character of constitutional changes invisible to them yet capable of overriding promises clearly made and carefully explained. An impartial opinion as regards the broad principle of disarmament was at that time recorded by Sir Garnet Wolseley, then in command of the South African forces. In a despatch of April 15, 1880, he wrote to the Secretary of State :—

“That the Cape Colony is endeavouring to take the arms from its natives, regardless of whether they had or had not been previously loyal, is a species of news that soon spreads far and wide beyond our frontiers and is calculated to raise the bitterest of feelings against our rule. . . . If it were possible to disarm all the natives it might possibly be worth while to incur no little risk to secure that end, but to incur the risk of war as we are now doing in the Cape

Colony for the purpose of obtaining say 20,000 guns from the loyal Basuto, whilst hundreds of thousands of arms are still left in the hands of the neighbouring tribes, . . . is in my opinion incurring a most serious risk for an incommensurate object. . . . This disarmament policy will array against us the native sentiment in every part of South Africa. . . . I do not think the risk of war which the Cape Government is at present voluntarily incurring should be encountered without the express permission of Her Majesty's Government. . . . Should the Basuto take up arms on this question, they will probably be largely joined by other natives from all quarters, there being a community of interest between all on this subject."

The warning in these weighty words was to be partly fulfilled.

No useful purpose would be served by reviewing the bulky correspondence that followed, containing a mass of conflicting opinions upon the subject. Mr. Orpen, then a member of the Cape Legislature, ever active to avert trouble in Basutoland suggested a reasonable compromise and eloquently appealed to Parliament to pause before committing itself irrevocably to a course certain to lead to disastrous consequences. Many others of influence did the same ; but all appeals were in vain. The Ministry led by Sir Gordon Sprigg would not be turned from its headlong policy and on April 6, 1880, a Proclamation was issued decreeing :—

That from the 21st May following it should not be lawful for any person in Basutoland to possess or carry arms or weapons without license ;



Prior to that date all arms, etc., should be deposited with the Magistrates ;

For contravention, offenders to be liable to imprisonment not exceeding seven years or a fine of £500 ;

The value of surrenders to be assessed and paid for ;

The word " weapons " to include spears and assegais.

Upon the momentous issues they were called upon to face at this juncture the Basuto Chiefs were badly divided. Letsie halted between two expedients ; in turns he professed abject submission to the orders of Government and intrigued against it ; his shifty tactics were so cunningly devised that he enjoyed the confidence of Government all the while that he encouraged resistance ; but his irresolution conduced to weaken the national cause owing to the mistrust he engendered, so that a good many surrendered their arms and formed a corps of loyalists. Amongst them was Jonathan, the elder son of Molapo who was almost in a dying condition. With Jonathan were allied many who had established themselves at or near the magistracies and most of the Christian converts. Masupha came out into the open as the leader of the opposition ; with him were associated Lerothodi and most of the other principal Chiefs.

The Basuto therefore presented by no means a united front to the forces likely to be arrayed against them ; their strength was impaired materially in the fact that the loyal section could betray them by giving intelligence and exposing their weak spots. Upon this loyal section the spleen of the resisters was at once concentrated with the idea of crushing or reclaim-

ing them before Cape forces could arrive for their protection. The Cape Government were thus placed under an honourable obligation to defend and rehabilitate those who had suffered for obeying the law.

On June 16, 1880, Colonel Griffith communicated to Letsie the result of a debate in the Cape Parliament which, though much opposition was offered, confirmed the action of Ministers ; at the same time he informed the Chief that the Petition to England had failed. Letsie thereupon called upon the tribe to follow him and obey the law. This was counteracted by Masupha who dared them to do so until all protest had been exhausted. The traders and other Europeans seeing trouble ahead and their property in danger caused a panic by preparing to remove unless compensation for loss was guaranteed them. To avert this and give security to the law-abiding inhabitants, the Governor's Agent asked leave to raise a force of 200 Europeans and to be provided with guns and ammunition of which he had none ; these requests were refused. On June 30 Colonel Griffith remonstrated by wire with Sir Gordon Sprigg :—

“If matters come to the worst what protection are you going to give us ? Are we quietly to wait and have our throats cut ?”

At this point Molapo died. The occasion of his funeral was utilized for a meeting of the tribe. His son Jonathan announced his intention to obey Government orders ; the other Chiefs almost unanimously declined. A month later Letsie solemnly went through the form of offering up in surrender his own personal

guns, nine in number ; a cart containing them had barely left his village en route to Maseru than it was arrested by his younger sons, the guns seized and triumphantly carried off. Whether Letsie was in earnest or had planned the denouement was a mystery ; any way it was a demonstration against his authority and led to chaos. It was the signal for renewed persecution of the loyals who were hounded into Maseru which was now threatened. The Governor's Agent then reported that Letsie was a broken reed and that a serious state of rebellion prevailed, only to be suppressed by a strong force of at least 3,000 troops and a few thousand Zulus. Meanwhile, Masupha fortified Thaba Bosigo whilst his lieutenants entrenched themselves in other strong positions.

In communications to Cape Town Colonel Griffith said :—

“A law obnoxious to the people of this territory has been forced upon them and no steps have been taken by the Government to support the authority of its officers, or to enable them to protect the loyal, and those who have obeyed the law in question. . . . If you do not in some way give me the means of protecting these people and their property, I will not remain here to be subjected to such indignity and injustice. . . . You don't seem to grasp the position up here, or I am sure there would be more vigour shown in supporting us. Our position is becoming a laughing-stock to the whole country.”

Acrimonious replies were returned with futile sug-

gestions that Masupha and Lerothodi, who roamed at will over the whole country whilst the magistrates were almost imprisoned at the seats of authority, should be bagged or called upon to surrender with a promise that mercy would be shown and their lives spared. The whole story has a comic side if it were possible to forget that thousands of loyals confiding in Government were being despoiled and hunted to death the while their magistrates powerless to honour their own promises were fed upon vainglorious telegrams.

At last Colonel Griffith persuaded Letsie to make a pilgrimage to Thaba Bosigo to coerce Masupha. It was hailed at Cape Town as a sign that the tide had turned, but was a farce. He paraded up the mountain with 1,000 men and down again, seizing the opportunity, it is believed, to privately acquaint his rebellious brother and sons with the success that had followed his efforts to play off the white people against each other; he was able to tell them the Home Government were not unsympathetic and the Cape people making Basutoland a party question. It was all true, yet deplorable that a savage tribe should hold the balance in such a way.

In the midst of it all, Sir Bartle Frere who, reposing splendid faith in his Ministry and according it loyal support, had been misled by worthless intelligence, was recalled. There were other more serious causes of his misunderstanding with Downing Street relating to the Transvaal and Zululand with which this narrative has no concern. Worn down with the cares of office and perpetual embarrassments that beset his

whole career at the Cape, he was stirred to defend himself against the attacks of a political party in England bent upon his degradation. In an elaborate despatch to the Secretary of State of August 3, 1880, covering the wide ground upon which his policy in different directions had been impeached, he said with reference to the minor question of Basutoland :—

“ . . . Your Lordship is aware of the difficulties of the task undertaken by my ministers in fulfilment of their pledges to undertake the internal defences of the Colony.

“ The application to Basutoland of the law prohibiting unlicensed carriage of arms, was a task of special difficulty and danger ; but it was one essential in the opinion of my ministers to public safety and obedience to law, a task from which no Ministry could shrink, unless they were prepared, at the dictation of the irresponsible younger chiefs and their followers, to surrender the duty of protecting life and property and enforcing law.

“ I can confidently speak for myself that, in assenting to the measures necessary for removing firearms from the hands of the Basuto, I thought even more of the permanent welfare of the Basuto themselves than of anything else. I believe that the same feeling actuated my responsible advisers, but unfortunately the measure was, against the wish of my ministers, made a party question.

“ Yet more unfortunately the opposition view was taken up on what seemed to me grounds rather of feeling than of legality, sound policy, or of due regard

for public safety by some who, in time past, had been among the best friends of the Basutos.

“These gentlemen gave the weight of much well-earned influence to the opposition, and the result is that every act of the Government has been, for months past, popularly represented in the most odious light to a people who have not yet been twelve years under the British flag, and who are only just emerging from barbarism.

“My own name was made known to the Basutos as an intentional oppressor. The prospects of securing obedience to the law have, for some days past, seemed materially brighter ; but the news of my recall will naturally appear to the Basutos as an emphatic disapproval by Her Majesty’s Government of every act of this Government, and can hardly fail very materially to add to the difficulty of preserving the peace and enforcing the law.

“(Signed), H. B. E. FRERE,  
Governor.”

The situation as then existing was forcibly portrayed by Colonel Griffith in the following terms (extract):—

*From* GOVERNOR’S AGENT *to* SECRETARY FOR  
NATIVE AFFAIRS, CAPE TOWN

“MASERU, 18 *August*, 1880.

“It is my duty to bring clearly to the notice of the Government that the laws of this territory have been openly broken and violated by armed bands of robbers, who, acting under the orders of their chiefs, have not

only shot down loyal British subjects, who were defending their lives and property, but have also in the most wanton manner plundered the property of many other loyal natives, and also robbed their wives and children of their food and clothing.

“The object which these disaffected chiefs had in view was not only to intimidate and prevent the people from surrendering their arms, but was also for the purpose of forcing the wavering and the weak into their ranks, and thus strengthening their own position.

“In carrying out these measures the authority of the Government has been opposed, defied and trampled upon. The authorities have not been in a position to resent this, and consequently all law and order has for some time been in abeyance. . . .

“Under these circumstances, I cannot describe the position of these chiefs other than that of being in open rebellion ; they have clearly and unmistakeably placed themselves in the wrong, and I regret to be obliged to say, that I cannot see that there is any other course open than that of making these chiefs and their followers submit to the law ; in doing this no doubt there will be resistance.

“The Chief Masupha with those chiefs and followers acting under his orders will take up their position in Thaba Bosigo and there openly defy the execution of the law.

“I would therefore strongly recommend that before making any more demands upon the offending chiefs, a large force be assembled at this place, at Advance Post, at Mafeteng and at Mohalie’s Hoek, and that these demands be there enforced. . . .

“The Government will, I am sure, acquit me of any desire to act in an aggressive spirit against the Basutos, or of any inclination to bring on the Colony such a calamity as a Basuto war ; but I feel that I should be failing in my duty were I not to say that I think the time has come for adopting vigorous measures ; and I am of opinion that by adopting them much bloodshed may be avoided.

“(Signed) CHARLES D. GRIFFITH,  
Governor’s Agent.”

Shortly afterwards the Prime Minister journeyed to Basutoland to try his luck. There on August 26 he met Letsie at Morija, exchanging with him during several days, marked by undoubtedly sincere efforts to avert war, a set of pious resolutions that came to nothing. Then, through the agency of Mr. Orpen, Letsie was persuaded to write a letter on September 3 professing the humble submission of the whole tribe, praying to be punished by fines, and begging that the law relating to disarmament be “allowed to sleep.” To this a reply was sent that it was a “living law” still in force ; if those who had sinned would appear personally for trial in court, would submit to punishment and restore or make good the losses inflicted on Europeans and loyals, the Government would take a lenient view ; but troops must be at once placed at Maseru and other places, to prevent repetition of lawless acts. The fact was, however, that Letsie had no authority to pledge submission of others. His real object was to deceive the Government in the hope that time would be gained and the obnoxious law with-





Photo by Wm. H. Robertson, Aspent.

MAFETENG AFTER A SNOWSTORM.



drawn. In that he failed and when the troops touched the southern border the fat was in the fire. The manner in which the several magistrates, whose stations were during this anxious time closely invested, clung to their posts without means of defence in men or arms was beyond all praise.

Who fired the first shot is not actually known; both sides denied the charge. On September 13 Colonel Bayly with a column of C.M.R. crossed the Caledon and occupied Maseru without opposition. The same day Colonel Carrington with a similar column crossed the open border near Wepener en route for Mafeteng, into which place he had to fight his way and entrench himself against the forces of Lerothodi. Skirmishes followed when several were killed on both sides and then on the 21st Lerothodi made a determined attack on Mafeteng, to be repulsed with loss. These affairs gave the signal for movements in every direction. The magistracy at Mohalie's Hoek was surrounded and cut off, that of Quthing attacked, Advance Post evacuated and Leribe isolated. Mr. Austen at Quthing held the place and made counter attacks with a body of loyals. The extent of the outbreak was such as to necessitate the calling out of 1,500 yeomanry and volunteers and raising of auxiliary corps who were hurried up to the theatre of operations as rapidly as possible. Of all the gallant defences in the interval of stations penned in by the Basuto, not one stood out in bolder relief than that by Mr. W. H. Surmon who, with only twelve white men and a few natives at Mohalie's Hoek, kept thousands at bay for two months.

On October 10 a daring attack directed personally by Masupha was made upon the head-quarters of Government at Maseru, garrisoned by 300 C.M.R. Though repulsed, the enemy burnt the public offices and other buildings, and so fierce was the assault that at several points the conflict was hand-to-hand. Messrs. Trower and Hobson, civilian storekeepers acting under Commandant Schermbrucker, distinguished themselves by holding outlying posts against strenuous opposition ; subsequent attacks of a like character were made and beaten off.

From all points of the compass came reports that the Basuto were acting vigorously on the offensive ; they suffered loss in so doing but never failed to inflict it upon their adversaries. These tactics had a far-reaching effect. False reports of Basuto successes were circulated in the native territories to the east where the rebellion rapidly spread and the Pondomisi under Umhlonhlo signalized common cause with the Basuto by the brutal murder of their magistrate Mr. Hope and other Europeans at a public meeting to which they had been treacherously invited. The whole of East Griqualand became inflamed, thus diverting much of the force that would otherwise have gone to Basutoland. 3,500 additional burghers were at once called out for a crisis such as the Cape had rarely had to meet.

Amongst many engagements, one when the Colonial troops experienced a bad disaster occurred on October 10. Commandant-General C. M. Clarke was proceeding with over 1,600 men from his base in the Free State to the relief of Mafeteng where Colonel

Carrington was beleaguered when, soon after crossing the border, the Basuto made a furious cavalry charge upon a section of the yeomanry who lost thirty-two killed and ten wounded before assistance arrived to repel the attack. This disaster caused a shock and made the burgher levies disinclined to take the field. The result was, the fighting was characterized by lack of spirit accentuated by unhappy divisions between the officers in high command that led to inaction. From Mafeteng however operations were carried on briskly by Colonel Carrington who made reconnaissances in force from October to the end of December 1880. But on nearly every occasion he suffered loss, sometimes considerable, without inflicting much upon the mobile enemy who on their quick ponies struck repeatedly at weak points while avoiding frontal attacks.

As the year closed the position was that the Basuto, in spite of the large army in the field against them, were still in possession of practically the whole country. They had worried and despoiled their "loyal" brethren of all their cattle and belongings. Jonathan the "loyal" leader was driven from his stronghold at Tsikoane and forced to take refuge in the camp of the Magistrate at Thlotsi under guard of a regiment of volunteers. The Government had incurred a heavy obligation on account of the losses of the loyal. Generally speaking the war was dragging wearily along, each side tired of it but forced to inflict what harm it could on the other. Mafeteng was the head-quarters and centre of operations. As the Colonial forces concentrated there the Basuto were obliged to muster strength in the same neighbourhood ;

but they had great difficulty in finding provisions, for there was no public Treasury or Commissariat Department behind them such as the troops had. The marvel was how they got food at all on the bare veldt. Yet whenever a column of 1,000 or more went out three or four times that number of Basuto always opposed them and, according to military reports, hunted them back to their camps in the most desperate manner.

Signs were not wanting as the year 1881 opened that the Cape Colony was bitterly disappointed at the conduct of military operations and shocked at the expenditure already entailed by maintaining a costly army of highly paid volunteers in the field; the Basuto also were being worn out by the incessant vigilance required of them. Some relief was therefore afforded upon arrival of Sir Hercules Robinson to succeed as High Commissioner Sir George Strahan who had acted as such in the interval after recall of Sir Bartle Frere.

In issuing a Commission and a letter of instructions to Sir Hercules Robinson upon the affairs of South Africa, the Secretary of State said with regard to Basutoland :—

“ . . . The circumstances under which the Basuto became subjects of the Crown imposed upon H.M. Government a special responsibility for their welfare. . . . The introduction of Responsible Government in 1872 affected the Governor's position in regard to Basutoland . . . but the Basuto received no formal notification of any change in their relations with him.



Photo by Chancellor and Son, Dublin.

SIR HERCULES ROBINSON (LORD ROSMEAD).

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. . . Neither the time nor the manner of disarmament was wisely chosen. . . . The good conduct of the Basuto during a long term of years was in itself a strong reason for making a distinction between them and other tribes. . . . If the Colonial Government should desire to bring about a settlement through the Imperial authority . . . and the Basuto would be willing to place themselves in the hands of H.M. Government, I should be ready to receive favourably any proposition for appointment of a Commission to consider and recommend terms of settlement or of the direct intervention of the Crown."

On arrival at Cape Town in January 1881, Sir Hercules Robinson found awaiting him a Petition from the Basuto Chiefs praying him to intercede with the Queen for them on account of a war forced upon them because they would not accede to Colonial laws for disarmament and partition of their country. He communicated with ministers and the Home Government and then invited the Basuto to place themselves unreservedly in his hands. They replied, hesitating until they knew more of the possible conditions. The Cape Government then offered the following terms to be complied with in twenty-four hours:—

Entire submission to Colonial law and government ; immediate surrender of arms ; payment of a heavy fine ; amnesty to all except Masupha, Lerothodi and Joel Molapo whose lives would be spared.

Quthing district to be disposed of as Parliament thought fit.

The time allowed for consideration was ridiculously short. It was impossible for the Chiefs who were scattered watching the troops to meet and confer without several days' notice. Moreover, the actual causes of revolt, viz. guns and land, were not touched, so that the situation was aggravated rather than improved by the terms offered. Consequently, after a short armistice, hostilities were resumed and severe fighting followed. Nevertheless negotiations were carried on until April 17, when Lerothodi was authorized by a majority of the militant party to notify acceptance of the High Commissioner's arbitration unreservedly, except in the matter of surrender of arms.

Sir Hercules Robinson accordingly gave his Award on April 29, 1881, the stipulations being :—

Disarmament tempered by a system of registration and annual license of £1 for each gun.

Compensation for losses to be paid by tribe to loyal natives and traders.

! Payment of a fine of 5,000 cattle for rebellion.

Subject to compliance, there should be a complete amnesty for all acts committed and no confiscation of territory.

At this moment a change occurred in the Government of the Cape, Mr. Scanlan becoming Prime Minister and Mr. Sauer Secretary for Native Affairs. The Governor's Award was adopted by the new Ministry who assumed responsibility for it in Parliament. The Basuto Chiefs, with the exception of Masupha who remained obdurate, also accepted it

professedly and shortly afterwards paid 3,000 cattle as an instalment of the fine. As soon as practicable Mr. Sauer proceeded to Basutoland for conference on the situation, made more embarrassing by proposals in Parliament for repeal of the Annexation Act of 1871. He found evidence on arrival that the Basuto had accurately gauged the results of the campaign from a military point of view which they ascribed to the justice of their cause. They saw, he said, that the Government had been compelled to abandon some of their stations and that the formidable army of occupation seemed incapable of advancing more than a few miles through the open country around Mafeteng.

Mr. Sauer applied himself most assiduously for three months in attempts to effect pacification and compliance with the Award. He held meetings from end to end of the country but succeeded in doing little more than getting payment of the cattle fine. The other portions of the Award were virtually ignored, *i.e.* as regards surrender or registration of guns and restoration of loyals' property. His efforts were neutralized by disaffection amongst the burgher levies who clamoured so loudly for disbandment that they had to be released; this deprived him of the striking force to back his persuasion. It also embittered the loyals by throwing them back on the rebellious faction, and encouraged Masupha who apologized and promised good behaviour but held out in the most obstinate manner against submission. His attitude kept alive opposition to any kind of settlement that meant parting with guns.

In August 1881 Mr. Orpen was initiated as Governor's Agent *vice* Colonel Griffith. He entered upon

his task with all the enthusiasm that had characterized in the past his anxiety to serve the Basuto. By his exertions a certain amount of order was restored ; but his strenuous efforts to inspire the Paramount Chief and tribe with the necessity of coercing Masupha and those who followed him into such a reasonable compliance with the Award as would satisfy the Cape Government, entirely failed. His voluminous correspondence for the ensuing six months was full of hope but changed to despair when, on January 19, 1882, he had to admit being left in the lurch by Letsie whose professions of loyalty and determination to overcome Masupha turned out to be empty froth. The record of these negotiations is a story of subterfuge and deceit, reflecting badly upon the Basuto Chiefs who were false to their pledges and who betrayed Sir Hercules Robinson to whose arbitration they had faithfully committed themselves.

It cannot therefore be matter of surprise if at the end of 1881 the Cape Ministry, burdened by the war costs which had run to millions, depressed by failure to accomplish their aim or to reconcile the Basuto and, above all, influenced by the fact that the matter had become one of party politics both in the Colony and England, sought for means of escape from the imbroglio.

They first inquired if H.M. Government would undertake to restore order in Basutoland and then assume responsibility for its control ; this was hastily declined. They then on January 24, 1882, pointed out the impossibility of the Colony maintaining its authority so long as the rebels felt they were en-

couraged, even protected, in their contumacy by the sympathy of the English Government ; any settlement was hopeless unless left in the hands of the Colonial Government unfettered by Imperial restrictions ; they were bound to state that the interests of the Colony could not be served by continuing to assert a rule in Basutoland which the Executive were unable to enforce ; therefore they were prepared reluctantly to recommend Parliament to repeal the Annexation Act and withdraw from the territory north of Orange River.

As this idea was received in England with great disfavour Ministers proposed an alternative, viz. to inform the Basuto that the Governor's Award would be cancelled unless fully complied with by a certain date ; in the event of non-compliance, to expropriate the whole of the Quthing district, to renew hostilities and enforce submission and order in the rest of Basutoland, with the proviso that the property and land of all who resisted should be confiscated absolutely without interference or question.

To the alternative scheme Her Majesty's Government gave a qualified approval in telegrams of February 2 and 9. The Basuto were therefore informed that the date of prescription was March 15.

This left the Basuto the prospect, if they resisted, of abandonment again to their own devices with a shorn territory, or eventual confiscation of their best land precisely as contemplated by the Free State in 1869. They had brought themselves into the pickle by following the perverse lead of Masupha.

Under it all lay, however, the stubborn resolution to cling to their guns.

## CHAPTER XXV

They would none of my counsel : they despised all my reproof.

PROVERBS.

Mr. Orpen's difficult position : he is blamed and abused for failing in an impossible task and superseded : the Award cancelled : Cape Parliament in two minds discredits abandonment and then proposes it : disarmament Act repealed : General Gordon comes on the scene, is zealous, resigns and retires : fighting between the sons of Molapo involves the Cape in complications : Mr. Scanlan goes to Basutoland and offers new Constitution which is not accepted : Ministers appeal to Imperial Government to relieve them of Basutoland : a provisional arrangement outlined

1882—1883

THE position of Mr. Orpen in 1882 as Governor's Agent was one of extraordinary difficulty. That he filled Blue Books with verbose correspondence, obscuring the main points in a mass of detail and misleading in its optimism, is only too apparent. He profoundly confided in the sympathy and co-operation of Chiefs and persuaded himself that all was going well when the reverse was the case. But he must be applauded for his energy and earnest desire to solve a complicated problem with justice to the interests of the Basuto and Cape Colony.

Prominent amongst his difficulties was the bitterness and importunity of the loyals who had been promised protection and compensation for the land and property they had been deprived of. Colonel Griffith publicly declared he had many times informed them the Government would never allow them to suffer for obeying the law ; that if they complied with the disarmament Act, the Government would protect their persons and property. These promises made in sincerity had never been fulfilled, with the result that thousands of loyals hung about the heels of the magistrates living upon Government rations supplied at great cost. On the other hand the rebels were full of impudent bluster. Other troubles arose from dissensions between the depressed magistrates, and from a section of rowdy whites deposited in the country, when the irregular forces were disbanded, who strained every nerve to promote a renewal of hostilities by intrigues and by poisoning the Cape press against every act of the administration committed and omitted. Further elements of discontent were the traders and other Europeans who had suffered damage to the extent of £81,000 ; they joined issue with the loyals, whose losses amounted to £131,000, and not unnaturally pressed for compensation. Altogether the internal state of affairs was deplorable, all the factors of discord being utilized for party purposes at the Cape in a manner that ruined the prestige of Government and undermined the influence of the Governor's Agent.

Much blame ascribed to the Basuto for their contumacy may be laid at the door of party politicians who not only brought misery upon the natives but

unpatriotically conspired to defeat the work of their own Government. Had a single purpose existed the Governor's Agent might have had a chance of success in bringing the Basuto to admissible terms. In his attempt to establish some kind of order he laboured under disgraceful abuse, even by those who appointed him, and malicious statements circulated for ulterior purposes by such as desired to thwart him.

In judging of his efforts we must consider the means at his disposal. The Cape Government, torn by faction, had lost confidence in itself and its policy, proposing in fits of despair to abandon, to conquer and to confiscate the country. Each of those proposals was unsettling to the Basuto who, realizing what lay behind either, assumed a self-protecting attitude. In such a captious mood they were not easily to be led and the police force in evidence was insufficient to intimidate them. The loyals could not be reckoned upon; they were an unpopular minority, were indignant and at a loss to perceive how the line of policy adopted was to rehabilitate them. The only alternative before Mr. Orpen was therefore to employ the rebels as a medium of relieving the situation.

Condemnation was however showered upon him for his failure to achieve with ill-assorted tools the success of a policy which had no quality, which lacked the sympathy of nearly every one concerned and the genuine support of those who loosely cast it. As a matter of fact he had, with the best intention, undertaken an impossible task. His predecessor Colonel Griffith had uttered a warning that the Governor's arbitration would not effect a permanent or satisfactory





LATE PARAMOUNT CHIEF LEROTHODI.



settlement unless the Basuto were first punished or at least made to feel a sense of moral subjection to the Government that promoted it. That arbitration was made, it must be remembered, by the Queen's Representative between the Cape Ministry and the leaders of a rebellion whose acceptance of it was subject to one important condition, viz. that their guns which had been the *casus belli* should be left alone.

So long as the Governor's Award, though unfulfilled, remained in being, the ordinary administrative system remained in abeyance, the rebel leaders assuming the responsibility for maintaining a shadowy kind of order which was beyond the power of Mr. Orpen and his magistrates to enforce. There was therefore a certain consistency when he turned to the rebel chiefs by whose active assistance alone confusion might be ended and authority restored. Had the Paramount Chief Letsie been a man of any grit he would have seized the opportunity to wheel his people into line ; but for such a purpose he was too suspicious and incapable.

Lerothodi, his eldest son who eventually succeeded him, was however a strong man who exerted himself intelligently to retrieve his father's weakness. Inspired by Mr. Orpen he strove vigorously to reconcile the tribe, now divided into two camps as loyalists and rebels, to get the nation to carry out the Award in spirit, and to maintain the authority of the magistrates. Some of his brothers aided him well ; but their combination could not break down the obstinacy of Masupha who rallied all disaffection and was strong enough to defy all overtures and threats. Joel, the eldest son of Molapo by a second house, ranged himself with

Lerothodi for a time in furthering the efforts of Mr. Orpen ; but this led to intense jealousy on the part of his brother Jonathan which ripened into mutual hatred that soon found expression and caused serious disturbances in the country for many years afterwards.

Shortly before the 15th March, the date when the Award was to lapse, Letsie appealed for an extension of the time. His prayer was supported by Mr. Orpen who had never ceased to write that the idea of abandonment or confiscation had frightened the Basuto out of their senses ; further, that in its existing form the Award was impracticable because the rebel chiefs had neither been compelled to accept it nor had they the actual power to enforce what depended on individual will, and because the restoration of the loyals' stock was impossible seeing that most of it had been "eaten up" or secretly disposed of. The prayer was not granted, so the Award was deemed to be cancelled.

The Cape Government then appeared to have got into two minds as to their future action. On the 28th March 1882 the Premier announced in Parliament :—

"That there should be no abandonment under any circumstances ; no renewal of war, nor confiscation except as a last resource ; that the disarmament proclamation should be forthwith repealed and a commission appointed to assess and pay for the losses of loyals and traders, and to consider questions relating to local self-government in Basutoland, and parliamentary representation ; with such concessions it was hoped disaffection would be subdued and order re-established."

But a month later, by a majority of 14 to 6 the Legislative Council passed a Resolution :—

“That this Council considers the existing situation in Basutoland humiliating and unsatisfactory and records its deliberate opinion that the Basutoland Annexation Act of 1871 should be repealed and that the Imperial Government be communicated with in order that steps may be taken for relieving the Colony from all further responsibility connected therewith.”

To which Her Majesty's Government replied by telegram on May 6, 1882 :—

“Inform Legislative Council that H.M. Government have received their resolution from you by telegraph and that they think it desirable to inform Council that they cannot hold out any expectation that steps will be taken by them to relieve Colony from its responsibilities in Basutoland.”

During the interval, *i.e.* on the 6th April, the Governor by advice of Ministers issued a Proclamation repealing the obnoxious disarmament Act. This was communicated to the Basuto with a message that, as the primary cause of disturbance was removed, the Government would look for a speedy restoration of law and order. The hope was not realized.

At this juncture General Gordon of Khartoum fame arrived in the Colony as Commandant-General of Colonial Forces. Before he had had time to make any serious investigation he rapidly sketched a lot of

reforms in the military organization and presented also a comprehensive scheme for radical changes in the administrative system of the Transkeian Territories. What however most attracted him to South Africa was the Basuto question which he yearned to settle and upon which he submitted, though at that time quite outside his functions, a discursive memorandum offering a solution of the difficulty. In a most irregular manner he entered into private correspondence with missionaries, strangers to him, about Basutoland affairs, sending through them unauthorized communications to Masupha which had the effect of embarrassing the authorities both in Cape Town and Basutoland. This was followed by a draft convention he recommended the Cape to enter into with Basutoland. It was impracticable and showed ignorance of local conditions.

In September General Gordon accompanied Mr. Sauer who in his official capacity as Secretary for Native Affairs went to Basutoland for the purpose of strengthening Mr. Orpen's hands in bringing pressure on Letsie and Lerothodi to coerce Masupha. He (the General) longed to have an interview with that Chief whose audacity he admired, believing he could influence him in a way that others had failed to do. His first opinion was that Mr. Orpen's policy and procedure were as right and sound as everybody else's were wrong; then he changed his mind and not only condemned Orpen but protested that his retention in office was a bar to settlement.

As might be expected with one whose individuality was so strongly marked, General Gordon quickly broke

away from Mr. Sauer and insisted, protests notwithstanding, upon seeing Masupha just at that moment when Mr. Sauer had arranged with Letsie to make such a forcible demonstration against Thaba Bosigo as would positively and finally humble Masupha. His intentions were the purest : his hope, that of averting conflict ; but the moment could not have been more ill-chosen. Letsie, though reluctant to crush his brother, was worked upon by Lerothodi to assert his paramountcy and save the country from impending ruin. It was therefore an ill-proportioned arrangement, whilst forces were in motion contemplated to cause a great shock and much bloodshed, for an officer of General Gordon's standing to approach Masupha with proposals of a peaceful character so vitally different to those determined upon by Mr. Sauer ; it had the appearance of diverting Masupha's attention from the attack being prepared for him.

The line taken up by General Gordon in his mission to Thaba Bosigo was to play upon Masupha's vanity, exalting him in rank above his fellows and his Magistrates. It was bound to fail. Masupha was cautious in his utterances and talked about the weather and crops. It had the effect not only of disparaging the Governor's Agent and defeating Mr. Sauer's coercive plans but of weakening Letsie's paramountcy and infuriating Lerothodi who, as heir apparent, viewed with ill-disguised concern the growing ascendancy of his uncle Masupha ; it contributed in fact to a rivalry between uncle and nephew that never died down. In a letter of October 17 to Mr. Sauer, the Paramount

Chief Letsie stated, "The visit of General Gordon has been far from producing the slightest good—it has only come to greatly increase perversity on part of Masupha and others."

No such quixotic errand should ever have been allowed. A ludicrous *impasse* was followed by a regrettable rupture between the General and Mr. Sauer who found himself obliged to abandon the policy of coercion and, after vainly seeking to influence Masupha by friendly persuasion at a meeting on October 12, 1882, retired from the territory, his mission with Gordon having excited animosities within and shaken the authority of Government from without.

General Gordon severed his connection with Basutoland and the Cape by a telegram from Thaba Bosigo, of September 27, to Mr. Scanlan the Premier, which explains much :—

"As I am in completely false position up here and can do more harm than good, I am leaving for Colony, whence I propose coming to Cape Town, when I trust Government will accept my resignation."

All the correspondence leads up to the view that the Cape Government indirectly encouraged the intervention of General Gordon in the hope that his genius might find a way out of their difficulties in Basutoland. But their policy at the moment was shaped in so haphazard a way that he never got a fair chance. A touch of his high-mindedness is revealed in the following unpublished letter here inserted by permission of Mr. (now Sir Thomas) Scanlan :—



"MY DEAR MR. SCANLAN,

"I write these few lines to you to state that in my communication to Masupha I did not even attempt to follow the wishes of the Government, or did I in the least weigh my words with a view to suit the Government. I acted entirely on my own responsibility, and was and am perfectly convinced that what I said was and is now the best thing that could be done; therefore instead of regretting I do not do so. I am sorry I have put the Government in a fix, but believe it is only for a moment and that what I said will ventilate the question and be the best for the Colony. I therefore take the entire responsibility of my action, merely remarking that my appearance on the stage was an act of Government for which they were responsible.

"Believe me with many apologies for any rudeness I may have expressed to you or others,

"Yours sincerely

"(Signed) C. G. GORDON."

"16/10/82."

For some time the weary course of a feeble and despised administration dragged on until a violent outburst in December disturbed the whole country and threatened the Cape Government with serious complications. It arose out of the dudgeon between "loyal" and "rebel." The ostensible cause was a contention in Leribe between Jonathan and Joel about cattle and other property devolving in the estate of their father Molapo whose succession in the matter of chieftainship the brothers disputed. The facts

were that Molapo's eldest son of the first house was mad ; Jonathan was the next son of that house, Joel the elder of a second house ; but unfortunately no court in Basutoland was at the moment in a fit condition to decide the issue ; consequently an appeal to arms was the outcome.

The clash occurred in this way. On November 30, 1882, the brothers met midway between their villages for parley, only to find how much they disagreed, and then separated, remaining in conclave with their armed followings at no great distance apart whilst interpleaders from both sides endeavoured to assuage the passions of the warriors who had fathers, brothers and sons in the opposing ranks. Though many were averse to collision it was a savage family quarrel that could only be checked by superior force. The Magistrate, Mr. Bailie, his assistant Mr. Kennan, and M. Coillard the missionary stood fearlessly between the angry hosts exhorting them to forbear ; but all their efforts failed. Whether from a good motive as he declared, or from fear or for strategic reasons Joel moved his main body which Jonathan, who observed it from a high plateau, regarded as a menace and at once killed a black dog as a sign of business and doctored his army. No sooner was this done than they sprang upon Joel's force which, being unprepared, recoiled and fled losing sixty killed, the victors pursuing and devastating the whole country. Ripening fields of corn and picturesque villages under the mountain slopes were reduced to ashes and herds of cattle little suspecting they would change hands so quickly were swept off.

If this affair could have been confined to the family, the supremacy of Jonathan was assured and there it might have ended. But it was not so ; other sections threw themselves into the quarrel. The majority of the tribe sympathized with Joel on account of his behaviour as a sturdy rebel and, aided by Masupha, joined with him in threatening Jonathan so seriously that he was forced to abandon most of his country to the enemy and implore Government intervention. Mr. Orpen thereupon went to Leribe, held a trial and patched up peace ; but too many people had been killed for any peace to endure without the presence of troops or a united tribal determination to enforce it. As neither existed, the feud slumbered ; the district remained in a state of anarchy, the late combatants watching opportunities to plunder and kill defenceless people found on the border lines.

The position of the Cape Government in its relation to the Basutos had become gravely complicated by the action of fugitives from both sides in the Leribe *fracas* who had when pressed sought sanctuary in the Orange Free State where hundreds fled with their families and cattle. That alone was an embarrassment, as the border farmers in addition to being alarmed cried out against the consumption of their pasture. But it had a more serious side ; the fugitives were pursued for the purpose of capturing their stock, which led to resistance, and soon the whole of that border was a fighting ground. President Brand at once directed the urgent attention of the High Commissioner and Cape Government to the riotous state

of affairs ; the tranquillity of the frontier, he said, was disturbed, the Free State border violated, and a reign of terror and anarchy prevailed throughout North Basutoland ; under the circumstances he was compelled to demand fulfilment by Cape Colony and the Imperial Government of the obligations for controlling the Basuto undertaken by Sir Philip Wodehouse under the Treaty of Aliwal in 1869.

Sir Hercules Robinson was accordingly obliged in January 1883 to summon a special Session of Parliament to consider the situation. In his opening speech he deplored that the strenuous efforts to restore Basutoland to order had been interrupted by serious disturbances between Jonathan and Joel resulting in a lamentable loss of life and property ; the complications arising out of those disturbances had driven his Ministers to the conclusion that it would be desirable to withdraw from the management of Basutoland internal affairs whilst controlling external relations necessary to maintenance of order on the border ; that, he said, constituted a binding engagement with the Free State which should be honourably and scrupulously fulfilled ; but he indulged the hope that, by forbearing consideration and a system of local self-government, a people who had shown such capacity for advancement might be saved from destruction and would make steady progress under the wise and moderate policy proposed.

Impressed with the imperative necessity of arriving at some final settlement with the Basuto, the Premier, Mr. Scanlan, accompanied by Mr. Sauer proceeded to Basutoland on March 16, 1883, for the purpose of

full deliberation and offering the Basuto such terms as the Cape Government considered could with dignity and advantage be tendered.

At his first Pitso he announced that Mr. Orpen would be removed and be replaced by Captain Blyth who had held high position in East Griqualand and the Transkei. That officer was in fact introduced on the spot. Many meetings were held where the utmost patience was shown in discussion. The general feeling expressed by the Basuto was that they disliked and feared the idea of abandonment but would prefer to be under the Imperial rather than the Colonial Government. Mr. Scanlan, whose conduct of negotiations was conspicuous for tolerance and discretion, plainly stated that, if his proposals were not accepted and productive of a return of civil order within a reasonable time before his Parliament again met, the only alternative was abandonment. On March 31 he submitted to Letsie for quiet consideration terms for the future government of Basutoland, adding that a Council proposed as part of the Constitution would be empowered to suggest alterations and make recommendations in matters of detail.

These constitutional proposals of Mr. Scanlan in the name of the Cape Government were most magnanimous in character. Nothing could have been fairer. All memory of the past was obliterated; all obnoxious laws effaced. The leading features were :—

1. Basutoland as annexed in 1871, including Quthing, to remain intact.
2. The Governor's Agent to have sole cognizance

of civil and criminal cases in which Europeans only were concerned.

3. All cases where Europeans and Basuto were concerned, and cases of murder, to be determined by Magistrates assisted by native Chiefs.

4. A Council of Advice to be constituted of Chiefs and headmen with power to suggest alterations in laws.

5. All revenue to be expended locally.

6. The hut-tax to be £1, subject to a reduction to 10s. by advice of Council if the cost of administration admitted of it.

7. The Chiefs to have management of internal affairs on condition that the principles of justice and humanity be observed.

On April 25, 1883, Captain Blyth held a National Pitso to receive the verdict of the Basuto as to acceptance or not of the Scanlan Constitution. A decision in the affirmative was given by Letsie who declared to speak for the tribe; but Masupha, Ramanella and certain other Chiefs were neither present nor represented and the former sent an insolent message.

Whilst the Cape Government were considering the position after receiving Captain Blyth's report, news reached them of another startling outbreak in Leribe, followed by a pressing demand from President Brand that Treaty obligations be upheld; thousands of refugees, he complained, were pouring into the Free State and the situation was such as to require immediate action.

It appeared that Joel, reinforced by Masupha and



FOUR BOYS.





other Chiefs, vigorously attacked Jonathan who defended himself bravely but was overwhelmed and driven into the Magistrate's camp at Thlotsi where he stood at bay, thus implicating the Government officials, his women, children and cattle seeking refuge in the Free State and all his villages being burnt to the ground. Outrages and murders were the order of the day. The Governor's Agent lost no time in going to the scene of disturbance attended by the Paramount and other leading Chiefs. Together they came to an understanding that conduced to temporary quietness. But much blood had been spilt again so that a loud cry for vengeance went up. In order to save the cattle of Jonathan's people from the spoiler Captain Blyth arranged with certain Free State officials for their security on burgher farms a few miles within the border conditional upon handsome payment to the consenting owners for the convenience ; he pleaded warmly with the President to approve this arrangement for Jonathan whose destruction had been compassed solely because he was loyal to Government and had obeyed its orders ; but the President upon the advice of his Volksraad refused permission.

These circumstances, the dread of complications, the frequent telegrams from President Brand as to the position being pregnant with danger, and the utter hopelessness of pacifying Basutoland all combined to dispose the Cape Government in their future course of action. Their views were expressed in the following Minute to the High Commissioner (extract) :

## MINUTE

“COLONIAL SECRETARY’S OFFICE,  
“CAPE TOWN, *May* 1, 1883.

“The position of Basutoland is such that Ministers deem it imperatively necessary to bring the same under consideration of His Excellency without delay. . . .

“The disarmament Proclamation took effect in July 1880 and . . . the first resistance to Colonial authority occurred in an attack . . . by Masupha on a subordinate chief because of his obedience to the law. Other acts of resistance followed. . . . In consequence forces were organized . . . for the purpose of maintaining order.

“The efforts made to compel the Basuto . . . to submit were not attended with success, though the resources of the Colony . . . were severely strained. . . . Negotiations for . . . a settlement . . . were entered into and Her Majesty’s Representative . . . acted as arbiter at the instance and with the approval of H.M. Government. . . . The result was an Award which was accepted by the Basuto but in a great measure never fulfilled. . . .

“Finding that a full compliance on the part of the Basuto was no longer to be hoped for . . . the Award was cancelled . . . in the hope of facilitating a speedy return to that peaceful and orderly state which prevailed prior. . . .

“Ministers deemed it proper to submit to Parliament a proposal for compensating equitably . . . those who had suffered for their fidelity. . . . Com-

pensation has been awarded to the sufferers. . . . The Disarmament Proclamation, the application of which to Basutoland was the cause assigned for the late disturbance, was repealed. . . .

“Ministers deeming it their duty to exhaust all available means to . . . bring about a solution of the . . . difficulty, thought it advisable that the Premier and Secretary for Native Affairs should visit Basutoland with that object. . . .

“While in Basutoland, Ministers submitted tentatively to the Basuto the terms of a Constitution for their future government. . . .

“The Governor’s Agent convened a national gathering of the Basuto . . . to ascertain their views.

“Ministers regret to inform His Excellency that at the Pitso . . . at Matsieng, the residence of the Chief Letsie, only he, his sons and about 2,000 people attended, while Masupha, Ramanella and Joel Molapo . . . absented themselves. . . .

“Ministers regard this refusal to attend as a . . . formal declaration that those Chiefs . . . decline the proposals . . . and as expressing an intention to have no further connection with . . . Colonial rule.

“Such being the case, Ministers desire . . . to bring under notice of His Excellency the necessity for immediate action . . . for preventing the grave consequences which would issue from the refusal of the Basuto to submit . . . and from an insufficient control over the tribe. . . .

“As it is certain that the relations now subsisting between the Colonial Government and the Basuto will no longer be continued, Ministers deem it right

that H.M. Government be informed . . . of what will inevitably occur.

“That the withdrawal of all authority from Basutoland will speedily be followed by a condition of things worse than exists at present is, it is feared, certain.

“The Colony having . . . endeavoured as in duty bound to bring about a settlement and . . . exhausted all means at command, there is no course open now for adoption which will enable it with advantage to its own or other interests to continue its present position in relation to Basutoland.

“It is hardly necessary to point out that in any action which H.M. Government may determine on . . . it is essential it should be taken prior to measures being adopted which will terminate Colonial rule in Basutoland and before the serious complications ensue which are certain to follow on the withdrawal of authority.

“The issues involved . . . are so momentous that Ministers deem it advisable that one of their number should proceed . . . to England to consult with H.M. Government and consequently the Hon. John X. Merriman . . . will proceed to England for that purpose.

“In conclusion, Ministers beg to invite . . . attention to the request of the Basuto . . . to bring to the notice of the Secretary of State their wish to be under the direct rule of Her Majesty's Government from which they complain they were transferred . . . without their knowledge or consent.

“(Signed) THOMAS C. SCANLAN.”

Sir Leicester Smyth, acting as High Commissioner, in a luminous despatch forwarding the Minute observed that the whole structure of authority had been so shattered by the events of the last three years that it could only be restored after considerable time by the exercise of tact and patience : the demeanour of Masupha was a matter of anxiety, for there was no reason to anticipate he would renounce his attitude of passive independence ; should however all British authority be withdrawn the Orange Free State would expect arrangements conformably to the Convention of Aliwal.

Sir Hercules Robinson then in England on leave was freely consulted by the Secretary of State (then Lord Derby). He summed up a masterly review of the matter by saying that whatever steps the Colony might feel itself at liberty to take as regards the internal government of Basutoland, it was bound by every consideration of honour and duty to discharge its responsibilities under the Convention of Aliwal, for the control of the relations of the Basuto with the Free State.

Mr. Merriman, the member of the Cabinet appointed to confer with H.M. Government, went at once to England. On arrival he stated in an able digest of the whole question the case for the Cape Colony in all its bearings. In a reasoned Memorandum amplifying the official Minute of Mr. Scanlan he brought forward the following additional points :—

The annexation of the Basuto to the British Empire in 1868 was regarded by the Orange Free State

and by all who sympathized with it as a high-handed piece of interference, as a breach of the Convention of 1854, and as a cruel deprivation of the legitimate fruits of conquest ; the principal motive held out to induce the Republic to accept the position was the guarantee by the High Commissioner of the peace and tranquillity of the border ; the Cape Colony was no party to the annexation, nor was it in any way concerned in the negotiations between the Imperial Government and the Basuto ; at the instance of Sir H. Barkly Basutoland was annexed to the Cape Colony which in 1872 gained Responsible Government ; but no attention was paid to the position of Basutoland and no one dreamed of consulting or even informing the people of the altered position of affairs ; nor did any communication take place with the Orange Free State. The Cape Government was obliged reluctantly to acknowledge having failed to restore order and now shared the opinion almost unanimously held in South Africa that an immediate repeal of the Annexation Act was the only course. In view of the Free State insisting on its guaranteed rights it was of pressing importance to define the position in order to avoid inevitable obligations certain to be forced on H.M. Government if anarchy set in, and claims it would be impossible to disregard ; the withdrawal of authority meant anarchy and a proximate war of races ; the abandonment of Basutoland by H.M. Government and repudiation of its obligations under Treaty would be looked upon by the majority of colonists as a preliminary step to the abandonment of South Africa as an Imperial possession.

Lord Derby in a despatch of June 14, 1883, to the High Commissioner after reviewing the situation communicated the decision of Her Majesty's Government in the following sense :—

1. As a Dis-Annexation Act could not take effect without the Queen's Assent, it was necessary for H.M. Government to consider whether they could advise that assent and whether in that event H.M. Government would be bound or should consent to accept any part of the obligations surrendered by the Cape.

2. The annexation of Basutoland was decided upon by the Cape Parliament without pressure from the Imperial Government which had contemplated its annexation to Natal: liabilities so undertaken could not be lightly cast off.

3. The Convention of Aliwal did not bind Her Majesty's Government to continue permanently responsible for Basutoland; it was true that Lord Granville had written that the British Government would be able and bound to maintain a due control over their subjects; but those words did not imply sole responsibility for a common frontier.

4. The British responsibility for the Basuto frontier was therefore limited; but, whatever its extent, it did not rest on Her Majesty's Government.

5. It was a matter of consideration whether, in the event of Her Majesty being advised to sanction the retirement of the Cape Government, the British Government would be under any binding obligation to govern and protect the Basuto who had, by rebellion,

by rejecting the High Commissioner's Award and other means, broken their allegiance and forfeited all claims to consideration.

6. Her Majesty's Government therefore felt free, as regards the Basuto, to take that course consistent with their duty and the interests of the Empire alone.

7. Her Majesty's Government could not therefore admit that the Cape Colony had a clear right to surrender its trust, or that the Free State was entitled to more than the joint maintenance of frontier peace, or that the Basuto had any justification to claim further protection.

But, Her Majesty's Government under all the circumstances were willing to test provisionally, and for a time, the sincerity of the assurance that the Basuto desired to come again under the Crown, on the following conditions :—

That the Basuto give satisfactory evidence of their sincere desire, and undertake to provide such revenue as might be required, and be obedient to the laws ;

That the Orange Free State make provision for preventing incursions into Basutoland ;

That the Cape Colony undertake to pay on account of Basutoland all customs duties received on account of goods imported into that territory or an equivalent for such revenue.

If the Cape Parliament would agree to this financial arrangement H.M. Government would be prepared to consider the charges which the proposed transfer would entail, and the sufficiency of revenue to sustain those charges.





Photo by T. Lindsay Fairclough.



But, Her Majesty's Government, in intervening to prevent the difficulties apprehended, accepted no permanent responsibility for the affairs of that part of South Africa: should the parties concerned not give proof of appreciation for the intervention offered, H.M. Government would not hold themselves bound to continue it.

The effect of this decision was to repudiate all obligations under the Treaty of Aliwal, all responsibility for what were or ought to have been Imperial affairs, and all regard for the welfare of the Basuto so carefully enjoined upon Sir Hercules Robinson when he replaced Sir Bartle Frere. High principles were all very well when things went smoothly; but in the time of trouble they had a price. So Lord Derby was prepared to consider the charges; and, if the money was put up by somebody else, his Government was willing to undertake the experiment of governing Basutoland provisionally and for a time.

But it was a nervous period in the eighties when the cold fit seized upon British policy in respect of Empire—when the movement for throwing off its outposts had risen to be an active force.

## CHAPTER XXVI

Unsettled condition of Basutoland during interregnum : Cape Parliament passes dis-annexation Act : Lord Derby makes proposals to Basuto to take them over conditional upon their being united : a substantial minority under Masupha resent it but their opposition is waived and the territory annexed to the Crown : Colonel Clarke appointed Resident Commissioner

1883—1884

DURING the conduct of negotiations which continued to bear the character of an attempt on the part of the Secretary of State to evade Treaty obligations and to make a deal for funds if the Imperial Government was saddled with Basutoland, that unhappy country endured a miserable existence. Captain Blyth, the Governor's Agent, reported that the Free State were driving back the refugee people and stock of Jonathan whose destruction was imminent at the hands of the rebels. In a telegram of May 11, 1883, one of many like it, he said :—

“Position of Government here humiliating in extreme. Have to stand by and see most loyal men in country butchered and destroyed, their only crime being their loyalty to Government. This will have

terrible after-effect, difficult to over-estimate. Fresh disturbances in Leribe will lead to general war and scenes of horrid cruelty and bloodshed. Anything, even instant abandonment, is better than present position."

And again on May 18 :—

"Thousands of acres of corn destroyed by rebels. I cannot press too strongly the very critical state of affairs, as it may be necessary for me at any moment to direct Magistrates to leave their posts. Conduct of rebels disgraceful : beating women, firing on them, killing old men and women and other cruelties."

Frontier relations were so intolerable that President Brand found it necessary to write an emphatic despatch to the Imperial Government urging immediate measures for restoration of order, the promised maintenance of which had induced the Free State to consent at great sacrifice to the Treaty of Aliwal. In spite however of the general disorder, no progress was made towards an understanding until matters took a turn in September when the Cape Parliament somewhat abruptly passed a Bill, reserved for the Queen's assent, for the dis-annexation of Basutoland.

Two months later Lord Derby inquired of Mr. Scanlan, then in London, whether the Cape Government would guarantee the payment quarterly in advance of £5,000 as a contribution towards any deficiency in the revenue of Basutoland in the event of H.M. Government undertaking its administration. The Premier gave the guarantee next day, at the same

time pressing for an immediate definition of Imperial policy. The Secretary of State then corresponded in London with Sir Hercules Robinson as to the best method of ascertaining the sentiments of the Basuto in the matter of their allegiance and willingness to provide whatever revenue was required of them. Those questions being settled, a telegram in the following terms was despatched to Cape Town for transmission :—

"24 November, 1883.

"MESSAGE

*"From the Queen's Government to the Paramount Chief Letsie and to the other Chiefs, headmen and people of Basutoland*

"You know that the Cape Parliament has passed a Bill renouncing, for the future, all connection with the administration of Basutoland and all responsibility for the acts of the Basutos.

"After the recent conduct of the tribe, Her Majesty's Government feel they cannot refuse to assent to this Bill, and the question is accordingly forced on them, shall they resume direct charge of the Government of Basutoland, as they had before the annexation of the country to the Colony in 1871, or shall the Basutos be allowed to revert to the position they were in before 1868, when, at their earnest entreaty, the Queen accepted them as British subjects, as the only way of saving them from extinction as a tribe? The Basutos have of late shown but little gratitude for the disinterested consideration which led the Queen to extend over them the protection of the British flag. When they were at war with the

Colony they invited the High Commissioner to arbitrate between them, but his Award, though accepted by the Basuto people, was in a great measure never fulfilled by them. Her Majesty's Government are therefore under no obligations to resume their Government or protection. But the Queen fears they are not strong enough to stand alone. If left to themselves, the future of the Basuto nation will not be long. Letsie himself has said the abandonment of Basutoland means the destruction of the Basuto people. He has added that he wishes to remain in the cave in which he was placed by his father, Moshesh. Before deciding, therefore, on the course which the Queen's Government will take as regards the future, they desire to put to the Basuto Chiefs and people assembled in a National Pitso the following questions :—

“Do you desire to remain British subjects under the direct Government of the Queen, and if so, do you undertake to be obedient to the laws and orders of Her Majesty's High Commissioner, under whose authority you would be placed, and to pay a hut-tax of ten shillings in aid of the administrative expenses of your country? Her Majesty's Government ask for plain straightforward answers, Yes, or No, to these simple questions. If you say ‘Yes,’ the Government ask further, ‘Are you united?’ The Queen does not want unwilling subjects. Her Majesty's Government *cannot take over a divided people.*”

At a Pitso held at Maseru on November 29 Captain Blyth laid the message before the nation

assembled and after ample deliberation replied the following day to the effect that:—

The Paramount Chief Letsie with his sons and a large number of Chiefs and people declared in a document their earnest desire to remain British subjects under direct authority of the Queen, and their willingness to be obedient and pay taxes. Masupha did not attend nor did Joel and other Chiefs who followed him. Notice was given to Masupha that twenty-four hours were allowed for him to come and sign the document but he failed to do so.

Three days later Letsie sent the following additional message to Her Majesty's Government:—

“Abandon me not, even although Masupha refuses to follow me. Abandonment means our complete destruction. We do not want our independence. Listen, Queen, to my earnest prayer; I and my people will follow faithfully wherever you lead.”

Shortly afterwards Masupha held a Pitso of his recalcitrant following in whose name he declared that he did not desire the rule of the Imperial Government or any other; he wanted complete independence and to be left alone; he would not attack the Government but was prepared to fight if the Government came to him; he desired no Magistrate in his country.

The Secretary of State had for some considerable time been in a sovereign position. It was plain that the great majority of the tribe strongly desired the Imperial connection and were prepared to accept it.



It was notorious at the time that if the alternative of positive abandonment or entire submission were presented to them they would have been ready on their own account and in their own way, in order to ensure their future safety, to brush Letsie aside and coerce Masupha. It was a golden opportunity, and that burden should have been laid upon them. But months had been frittered away in arguments about a paltry bit of revenue. Then the political pressure became so great that the Secretary of State was driven to yield upon his predetermination to deal only with a united people. He proceeded to take them over divided and perpetuate the evil state of things. In a telegram of December 17, 1883, to the High Commissioner Lord Derby announced the resolve of Her Majesty's Government to assume the administration of Basutoland :—

#### “MESSAGE

*“From the Queen's Government to the Paramount Chief Letsie and to the other Chiefs, headmen and people of Basutoland*

“Her Majesty's Government have had under consideration the proceedings of Letsie's Pitso, at which he, his sons and other Chiefs, as well as the people present, declared their earnest desire to remain British subjects under the direct authority of the Queen. Joel and a number of other Chiefs who were not present at the Pitso have, it appears, since expressed concurrence in the decision arrived at. The Government have also received Letsie's message to the Queen earnestly entreating Her Majesty not to

abandon him, as that course would, he urges, mean the complete destruction of the Basutos.

"Her Majesty's Government are informed that a small section of the Basutos remain disaffected, but, relying upon the sincere co-operation of the great majority of the Chiefs and people in restoring law and order throughout Basutoland, the Queen's Government have determined to resume the direct rule of the tribe. They trust the Basutos will by their future conduct evince their appreciation of the disinterested consideration which has led Her Majesty to continue to them the protection of the British flag. They must be well aware that, in allowing Basutoland to remain a portion of the Empire, the Queen is influenced by no selfish motive. The safety, welfare and contentment of the Basutos are her sole aim; their gratitude her only possible reward."

This announcement that the territory would become a British Protectorate had the merit of settling a long-deferred question, much to the relief of all parties in South Africa. But it had the effect of leaving Masupha triumphant; he not only refused consent but threatened to oppose the new régime. In spite of that it formed no part of the Imperial policy to bring him to terms; the line of least resistance was to drift into the business in a cheap way hoping that something would turn up to avert the evil consequences of overlooking insult from a subject Chief. President Brand, amongst many others who observed this dangerous drift, expressed his fears in a series of communications indicative of the prospect of pro-

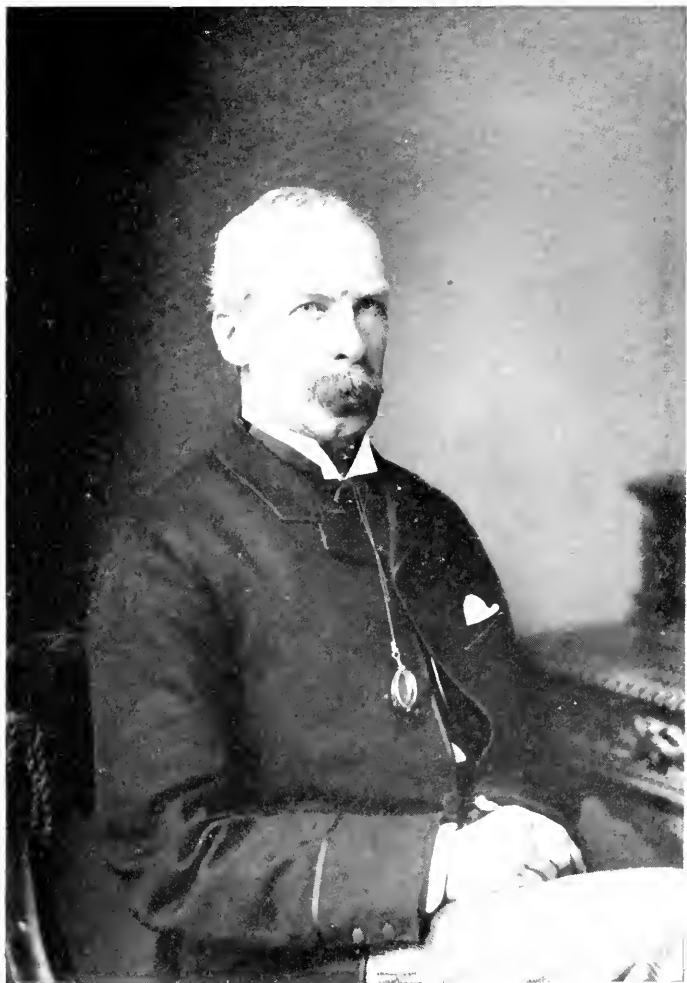


Photo by S. B. Barnard, Cape Town.

SIR MARSHAL CLARKE.



longed unsettlement unless Her Majesty's Government took measures *ab initio* to assert its authority over the whole tribe.

The seal was set upon the project by promulgation on March 18, 1884, of an Order in Council notifying the Queen's assent to the Cape dis-annexation of Basutoland, assuming direct Imperial control and providing for all legislative and executive power being vested in the High Commissioner.

The officer simultaneously appointed as Imperial Resident Commissioner was Colonel (afterwards Sir Marshal) Clarke, R.A. That officer, whose lamented death occurred during the writing of these pages, was one of great character who had achieved distinction in various spheres. After serving in India he transferred to Natal where he saw service in the Langalibalele rebellion and then became a Resident Magistrate. Subsequently he accompanied Sir Theophilus Shepstone to the Transvaal in 1877, acted as Special Commissioner at Lydenburg, took an active part in the Sekukuni campaign, went through the Boer War of 1880-81 and in the latter year proceeded to Basutoland as Magistrate at Quthing. In 1882 he took over command of the Cape Police, and when selected for Basutoland was in command of the Egyptian Gendarmerie. No finer selection could have been made. His experience of South Africa, his sympathy with the natives, capacity for rule and high character earned for him the profound respect alike of the Government he served, the people he ruled and the officers he employed.

Colonel Clarke's instructions were brief. In effect

they were that the expenditure must not exceed the revenue consisting of £20,000 contributed by the Cape together with local taxes; H.M. Government were of opinion that nothing more could be attempted at first than the protection of life and property and the maintenance of order on the border; but the Basuto were to be encouraged to establish internal self-government sufficient to suppress crime and settle intertribal disputes.

The only officers taken by Colonel Clarke from England in January 1884 to Basutoland were the author of this book, who had seen several years' previous service in Africa, and was appointed as Secretary, Accountant and Assistant Commissioner; and Mr. J. C. MacGregor, first commissioned as a Police officer and later as an Assistant Commissioner.

Before passing to the next stage of Imperial administration, it is suitable here to give a brief retrospect and statement of the actual position of affairs early in 1884.

Those who have followed the story will recall the strange vicissitudes through which Basutoland passed during the half-century of its association with European civilization. The continual changes to which it had been subject left a confusing impression upon the minds of the Basuto. Since Moshesh gloried on his deathbed upon being folded in the arms of the Queen the nation had been considerably bandied about. Transferred to the Cape without fair consultation, over-administered by zealous magistrates armed with rigorous laws unsuited then to a quasi-independent

people, disarmed by Proclamation, warred against but undefeated, threatened, abandoned and condemned, it was not surprising that they became in turns dejected, arrogant and suspicious.

It would have turned the head of almost any community to have defied successfully a vigorous Colony having the right of rule on its side and the undoubted power to enforce it with men, money and the scientific appliances of war. The wonder is how they came to escape utter humiliation and loss of their choicest land. It would be idle to deny that in the "gun war" of 1881 they conducted their defence with bravery and skill; but the result of that war, though leaving a lasting impression on their minds that it was due to their own prowess, may be ascribed, putting aside the mistaken utilitarianism which prompted it, to extraordinary want of organization and unanimity on the part of Cape Colony.

These varied experiences gave the Basuto an extended acquaintance with the forces of civilization—its manners and customs in war and diplomacy. That acquaintance made for enlightenment but not altogether for enrichment of character. They had learnt to hold almost in contempt the military forces arrayed against them, assuming wrongly that those forces were comparatively deficient in fighting qualities whereas the weakness lay simply in the absence of cohesion and direction. Similarly the magistrates, many of them being excellent officers, were misunderstood and their influence, which should have been a power for good, was lost.

For the past four years the country had been

virtually in a state of war causing a suspension of civil law ; the people had got out of the habit of paying taxes and obeying State orders ; that of course was bound to react in demoralization. One lamentable feature of the war period was a cultivation of the taste for strong drink introduced by reprobates who made high profit out of the sale of fiery spirits. The facilities for this iniquitous trade were many, the means of suppressing it non-existent.

At heart the nation as a whole, though shy, was willing to be governed mildly and anxious to progress. But the success of Masupha in defying authority was a serious bar to unity. He was able to centralize disaffection and detach a strong body of ardent rebels who kept alive opposition to any form of government and hatred of the loyals. In this attitude there is reason to believe he received the moral countenance of the Paramount Chief Letsie whose secret purpose it was, while affecting to condemn his brother, to gain protection without forfeiting independence. The one factor for good that had remained undisturbed though much hampered was missionary influence which had continuously been exerted for betterment of the people.

Altogether the outlook was far from promising when the agents of the Imperial Government embarked on the task of building up by personal influence alone the broken fabric.



## CHAPTER XXVII

Sir Hercules Robinson's policy of delegating power and allowing discretion to the men on the spot: ruffles in the course of Imperial administration: the sons of Molapo again fight: an officer is stationed between them: disturbance and annexation of Moroko's country: murder of Tsipinare: the temporary character of British rule a great drawback: more fighting: peaceful surrender of Masupha who receives a Magistrate: expulsion of canteens: Masupha fights Ramanella: an Extradition Treaty: deaths of President Brand and Letsie: Sir Henry Loch becomes High Commissioner: Sir Marshal Clarke leaves: his successor: progress

1884—1893

WE now enter upon a period when the temperature fell and fewer incidents of a stirring nature are found to chronicle because though much transpired to cause deep anxiety in respect of intertribal quarrels formed principally round Masupha they were more of local interest and less productive of those serious border complications which in the past had gone to make history.

The High Commissioner, Sir Hercules Robinson, from the first prudently abstained from fettering the Resident Commissioner with conventional orders, rely-

ing rather upon the judgment of his deputy to work out gradually a system of paternal government that would command the approval of Downing Street and the sympathy of the Basuto. His instructions went little beyond saying, "Do the best you can with your materials ; I will encourage you and not interfere ; but don't look to me for money or troops ; I can give you neither." That did not indicate a strong Imperial policy but it had the merit of being a working proposition. It was one too that British officers understand and rarely fail to build upon. It meant that, if time was allowed, much could be done by purely personal rule ; trouble and embarrassment there certainly would be but they might patiently be overcome and pass almost unnoticed. That in fact represents what actually happened during the next twenty-five years.

Whatever success is attributed to that period must be associated with the name of Sir Hercules Robinson (afterwards Lord Rosmead) who appreciated the human side of the question, gave his agents a free hand, trusted them, and then backed his own judgment against the odds.

The Imperial Government of that day, nervous of its responsibilities, was fortunate to possess in their High Commissioner so capable and far-sighted a statesman. His conception of the laws that should prevail in the newly acquired dependency corresponded in breadth with his ideas upon decentralization. A Code of Regulations (copy of which as slightly amended will appear in an Appendix) lent itself to the form of benevolent control which Colonel Clarke held to be essential

for the occasion. The central idea was to confer upon the Resident Commissioner absolute jurisdiction without appeal to any court beyond his own. That had the effect of letting everybody enjoy the invaluable assurance that finality of judgment lay in the country. Nothing could have conduced more to settlement. If there is one thing which elevates the law-giver to a high pinnacle in the estimation of a rude community it is the knowledge that his will be the last word and will prevail.

Colonel Clarke was careful to exclude from the code he had recommended all vexatious provisions and, placing a true value upon the power and discretion vested in himself, delegated in the same trustful way to the Chiefs large powers of adjudication in tribal cases. That appealed to them warmly. It took them apparently into partnership, gave them an intelligent interest in their own affairs—gave them to feel in fact the pride of independence and the similitude of home rule.

The new Resident Commissioner on reaching Cape Town early in 1884 was advised by many of experience that the transfer of authority from the Cape to the Imperial Government should be signalized by a ceremony designed to introduce him in a fitting way to the Basuto who were susceptible of impression, more particularly in view of what had gone before. The advice was unquestionably sound. He approached Her Majesty's Government on the subject but it was negatived on the ground of expense. Instead of that, he was hurried up to Basutoland where on March 16, 1884, he presented himself unobtrusively at the border

to an expectant people who, after being dazzled in previous years by the splendour of Governors in state array, were surprised to see the new Queen's Representative arrive in so humble a fashion.

The next day he proceeded to Maseru escorted by Lerothodi and a large concourse of natives many of whom were overcome with drink obtained from canteens kept by low white men in all parts of the country. Then followed a Pitso at which the nation, excepting Masupha, Ramanella and their confederates in opposition, welcomed the Queen's Government.

Whilst this was taking place the flames burst out in Leribe, the sons of Molapo coming again into deadly collision. The result was that Joel in one action left 39 dead on the field, Jonathan had several casualties, the northern Free State was flooded with fugitives and President Brand poured in telegrams of remonstrance. It was an inauspicious opening of the Queen's rule. Colonel Clarke, realizing that this open sore would lead to endless trouble in the country, directed the author of this book to proceed immediately with representatives of the Paramount Chief to the scene of disturbance, to get between the combatants and order them to lay down arms, then to ride along the frontier for the purpose of collecting and repatriating the refugees pending a court of inquiry.

That being done, he went there himself to hold with Lerothodi representing the Paramount Chief a joint investigation. The warriors assembled under arms were in such a passionate mood that it seemed hopeless to pacify them. One who provoked angry feelings was Moetsweni, the intemperate offspring of Joseph,

the mad eldest son of Molapo before alluded to. This wild lad kept the Court for some hours in a state of nerves by flourishing a loaded revolver over the heads of the sitting groups who were eventually plunged into alarm by its discharge, one bullet prostrating a man of Jonathan's. There is no knowing when a shot is fired in a combustible atmosphere where it will end. Only with difficulty was quiet restored and then judgment was given. By it, Jonathan was recognized as principal Chief in the district, Joel's boundary determined, and plans made to station thereon permanently an officer, Mr. Kennan, to guard if possible against further fighting. This had a very settling effect ; but it did not appease President Brand who continued to complain loudly of encroachments and trespass.

Upon later inquiry it transpired beyond doubt that efforts to check these trespasses were frustrated by certain border farmers who, in defiance of their own Government, secretly encouraged the parties in intertribal disputes to take refuge with them for which accommodation they levied a heavy toll in cattle. It was an old story repeated again and again in the past and future and discounts the mass of diplomatic protests that occupy a large space in the Blue Books of the time.

President Brand remonstrated respectfully but vigorously with the Secretary of State as to the utter inadequacy of the new Administration to uphold its prestige or maintain order with the resources at its disposal. It was true that, to start with, the resources seemed strangely insignificant ; but no chance had been allowed for reorganization. Most of the

Colonial officials were being replaced by others of Imperial selection. A native police force of 130 men locally enrolled, under ten Inspectors with political duties, had been quietly established and placed under four Assistant Commissioners. With this staff cordially working together the Resident Commissioner was by slow degrees reconstructing the business of Government. What hampered him much was that the Free State, while exclaiming so sharply, took no effective measures to co-operate in frontier matters, for they had no standing force of police for patrol and only four constables on duty along a border of 100 miles. Moreover, they undermined the influence of Basutoland magistrates by recognizing passes issued by Masupha and other Chiefs in contravention of regulations which prohibited the issue of such passes ; further, no efforts were made to suppress brandy canteens on burgher farms that were allowed to traffic in open day contrary to Free State law, from which the Basuto freely drew supplies of vile stuff that maddened them. If progress was not therefore very marked the fault did not altogether lie in Basutoland.

The circumstances of the Baralong under Moroko have been related in previous chapters. Much confusion centred round their country at Thaba Nchu in days gone by. It will be remembered that Moshesh claimed it in vassalage, occupied and evacuated it at intervals. Though cut away by the Wodehouse and other Conventions, the Basuto nevertheless protested that it was still theirs. Moroko, "the peaceful," departed life leaving two principal heirs, one viz.



From a water-colour drawing.

THE WAY PUBLIC AFFAIRS ARE DISCUSSED AT NATIONAL PIISO.





Tsipinare a good heathen, docile like his father whom he succeeded, and one named Samuel who was sent to England for education at a mission school where he was converted and showed great intellectual promise. But he was a man of deep passions and on returning to South Africa threw off the veneer of Christianity and reverted badly to the wild. He entered into a hellish design to murder his pacific brother Tsipinare hoping thereby to gain the chieftainship. Surrounding his brother's hut one dark night with a horde of ruffians he first fired the habitation and then cruelly despatched his unsuspecting relative as he fled from the flames.

Under ordinary circumstances this would have been but a passing event were it not that the alarm immediately spread that the Basuto were the instigators with the object of recovering their lost ground. It led to a scare in the Free State. President Brand with his Council and a body of burghers thereupon concentrated at Thaba Nchu where the author was also sent by the Resident Commissioner to confer with them and give assurances that no menace need be feared from Basutoland. As a solution of the difficulty the Free State Government resolved to annex the Baralong territory and depose the usurper Samuel who, as his brutal offence was committed outside any civilized jurisdiction, was banished from the State, escaping punishment but losing the chieftainship he murdered for. With great difficulty he was outlawed also from Basutoland where his presence would have been disturbing as there was, in spite of his crime, much latent sympathy for him. Whether he was

cunningly prompted from Basutoland, as many believed, remained a mystery. But the Basuto did not cease to pursue their claim to the land until an authoritative ruling came from England which induced them to abandon it finally.

Towards the close of 1884 one of those waves of alarm not infrequently felt caused great restlessness. It was occasioned by false and malicious reports circulated by designing borderers who desired to promote any kind of disturbance that would lead to another expenditure of public money upon which such miscreants fattened. They sought to inflame the Basuto mind by declaring that the military expedition of Sir Charles Warren to suppress filibustering in Bechuanaland was secretly destined for Basutoland upon which it would suddenly pounce and capture all the Chiefs lately in rebellion. Consequently, Maseru and other magistracies were shadowed by armed Basuto contingents who could with difficulty be persuaded that no such outrage was contemplated. This was a species of political trouble fomented by mischief-makers with which the Administration had to contend for several years. These persons carried on their machinations from bases in the Orange Free State where they were suffered by the authorities to harbour, notwithstanding the scrupulous desire on the part of President Brand personally to co-operate with the British Government.

Though as time went on matters, comparatively speaking, improved they were far from satisfactory. Reports of local commotion did not attain so much publicity as formerly for the reason that Basutoland

affairs were no longer a party question at the Cape. But there was a great deal to disturb the equanimity of those in authority.

The district of Quthing, it will be remembered, at one time alienated from Basutoland, was eventually dedicated for the use of persecuted loyals. It was, however, never properly partitioned and, during the prolonged interval of inter-government negotiations prior to transfer, Nkwebe a son of Letsie established himself securely with a rebel following in the district without authority. It was for the Resident Commissioner, when called there to avert impending trouble, a choice of evils—*i.e.* to offend the loyals, or reject the Paramount Chief's prayer to confirm his son's position. He adopted the alternative, as a matter of high policy, of officially placing the young Chief in native charge of the district with heavy responsibilities. This of course gave great pain to the loyals and their many advocates and threw a strong body of opposition against the Administration.

Disorderly outbreaks were of frequent occurrence. Masupha was prominent in furthering quarrels between the sons of Majara, his younger brother who died early, and between the sons of Letsie residing near him, in each case aiding one side so that he might claim their adherence in strengthening his own power. These quarrels led to a great deal of bloodshed and often convulsed the country, the victors invariably "eating up" indiscriminately all the property they could lay hands upon.

It was natural therefore that Colonel Clarke in his first Report after eighteen months' experience, expressed a

gloomy view. He was unable, he said, to ensure the administration of justice or afford after-protection to those who sought redress; the Chiefs were debauched with brandy; he had, with his officers, the mortification of submitting to defiance and insult from Masupha and those who followed him, all of whom lived close to the Residency; the fact was that the power at his disposal was inadequate to impose obedience to the few simple laws in force; the situation in his opinion demanded definition of a limit to the form of experimental government prescribed by Lord Derby; drifting was full of danger and liability.

Sir Hercules Robinson carefully watched affairs and took the measure of the situation. Whilst generously applauding the efforts of the Administration under adverse circumstances, writing to the Secretary of State, then Colonel Stanley, in January 1885 he directed attention to the undignified position in which the Imperial Government and its agents in Basutoland were placed. The result, he said, of the attitude assumed by Masupha and his adherents was that, we were protecting as British subjects, from external attack, a portion of the Basuto who disputed our authority and denied that they were amenable to British control: "It is very difficult in these circumstances to determine what is the best course to be taken. No plan now open to us is free from objection. The successful resistance which the Basutos opposed to the Colonial Government has completely spoiled them. They have become arrogant, and Colonel Clarke is engaged in the unpromising attempt

to govern them by moral force after physical force has failed. On the whole, I am disposed to think that the best course would be for Her Majesty's Government to determine at once, before matters become worse, whether, if the whole tribe will not now submit to British authority, Basutoland shall be abandoned, or the contumacious minority coerced."

In later despatches he expressed reluctance to enter upon any fresh engagements until some definite policy was decided upon; the avowedly temporary character of British rule was prejudicial to all reasonable chances of success; a reassuring announcement on the subject of permanent British rule was, in his opinion, imperative.

Of these representations no notice was for a long time taken in England. On the contrary, the Secretary of State when in December 1885 giving a half-hearted approval to the territorial accounts which showed a handsome balance on the right side, took exception to the expression "*Imperial Auditor*," used by an Imperial officer in his certificate of audit, as being likely to mislead. Such an expression apparently involved Imperial responsibility. However, a little more courage was shown in February of the following year when Lord Granville, who had gone to the Colonial Office, still unwilling to admit openly that Basutoland was regarded as under effective British rule, wrote to the High Commissioner: "I see no objection to your making it known, if there should be any necessity for doing so, that Her Majesty's Government contemplate no change in their relations with the Basuto."

By the time the second financial year closed on June 30, 1886, when Annual Reports were required, the Resident Commissioner was able to show a brighter prospect and record a measure of progress in spite of the uncertainty of tenure which had been so weakening. Regrettable incidents had to be deplored. Amongst them, three natives in Masupha's country were murdered in cold blood for witchcraft ascribed to them in compassing the death, due to drink, of Mapheshoane, eldest son of Poshudi. The law was not strong enough to punish the murderers or the Chief Masupha who had instigated them.

Serious violations of the Free State border also occurred that were difficult to punish because no Treaty existed for the extradition of criminals. The Basuto were not wholly to blame. All the acts of violence took place in the vicinity of Free State farms upon which notorious receivers of stolen property resided by permission of the owners and kept illicit canteens. To such places the worst characters resorted for drink, and those who had lost stock sought and seized it there if found; then, diplomatic complications ensued which one by one were settled after anxious trouble. Owing to the Free State having no effective border police of their own it could not be absolved from a share of the blame for those offences.

As usual, a number of tribal fights took place, the most serious being one between the two most refractory Chiefs, Masupha and Ramanella, in which about fifty of the combatants fell. But that quarrel had unforeseen, yet important results. Each chief

bid for Government support and eventually appealed for arbitration which was granted. A just and impartial decision accepted by both gave the impression that there was now in the country a Court of Final Appeal which had no soldiers behind it but, what was stronger, the force of public opinion.

The growth of that public opinion was not lost upon Masupha. Finding himself more and more isolated and out of touch with the tribe, perhaps also because his pride rebelled against non-recognition by Government, he approached the Resident Commissioner in February 1886 with the request for a Magistrate to be placed in his district to whom he promised respectful obedience. To the author of this book was entrusted the delicate duty of going to reside for a time near the contumacious old Chief and build up in his ward the machinery of government; he returned after four months with the satisfaction of having, according to despatches written by his superiors, established useful relations with Masupha, collected his taxes and connected up the administrative system which was then carried on by another selected officer, Mr. Sloley, the present Resident Commissioner of Basutoland.

There is little doubt that the peaceful surrender of Masupha gave a satisfactory turn to affairs. The weight of his influence being drawn in the right direction, other Chiefs who had wavered in their allegiance followed suit, and, when the Resident Commissioner proceeded to hold the first native Parliament since 1879, Masupha with every leading Chief was found in the ranks of those who assembled

to discuss national affairs and laws. It was under all the circumstances a notable achievement and was marked by well-deserved honour conferred upon Sir Marshal Clarke. Other distinguishing features of the year under review were that brandy canteens, after a great struggle in which officers had unpleasant experiences, were expelled from the country, £2,000 was granted to native education, and the budget showed a credit balance of £3,000.

If the ensuing years are glanced at rapidly it is not to say they were lean of problems. Each period brought its sheaf, which with singleness yet directness of purpose were almost silently solved. Early in 1887 Masupha lost through drink his heir Lepoquo, the only son of his principal wife. Though sorely grieved, he was not restrained shortly afterwards from a savage attack upon Ramanella over a land dispute. The affray resulted in the loss of twenty killed and many wounded, and so roused the anger of Letsie that he took the field against Masupha with such effect that the latter clamoured for protection from the Resident Commissioner who adjudged the case and fined him 1,000 head of cattle which he readily paid.

A sign of the changed order was seen in 1888 when it became possible to exchange an Extradition Treaty between the Orange Free State and Basutoland for mutual surrender of criminals and compelling the attendance of witnesses in foreign courts. This meant that the Queen's writ could now run. Scarcely was it concluded when both territories had to mourn the death of President Sir John Brand. From the date of annexation all were assured of his sincere sympathy





The Kimberley Photographic Studio.

LORD LOCH.



with the great object of restoring peace and order amongst the Basuto, to whom he was always a kind friend. Although he in common with his burghers disbelieved in the efficacy of the methods adopted, his advice and influence were freely employed to further that object in pursuance of which he was just and generous.

Early in 1890 Sir Henry Loch, successor to Sir Hercules Robinson as High Commissioner, on paying Basutoland an official visit was received on the boundary by 15,000 men allowed by privilege to come armed. Reporting upon it to Lord Knutsford, then Secretary of State, he said :—

“On my arrival the Basutos, as I passed between their ranks, formed up in squadrons in rear and on either flank, and it was noticeable that chiefs and clans which but a few years ago were at war with one another, were now riding side by side, contending only in the energy with which they gave utterance to their chant of welcome, and in the cordiality of their greetings.”

In the course of an address to Sir Henry Loch by the Paramount and other Chiefs the following significant paragraphs appear, which may be read in conjunction with the Petition arising out of the contemplated Act of South African Union, presented by a deputation of Chiefs who came to England for the purpose early in the year 1909 :—

#### ADDRESS

“ . . . And although our mother the Queen has again placed us under her Government (Imperial Govern-

ment) we greatly fear that by the cunningness of those who do not love us we may perhaps be placed under the herding of the Colony again.

“That is why we make this prayer, asking that you, Chief, will forward it to our mother the Queen, and that you will also endorse it, that Her Majesty consent to grant us a document in full, which will be a promise, and which will be a permanent evidence to witness for us, we who are alive at present, and our children, and our grandchildren who will come after us ; that this country and the nation living in it will remain in the caretaking of Government (Imperial Government) for ever and without changing.

“This is my prayer, Chief, and that of my children, and of my nation, and we trust you will listen to it, and receive it nicely, and cause it to reach the ears of the Queen and her Court, and that you will forward it recommending. . . .

“God save the Queen.

“I have signed my name, and so has my sons and councillors, because we are all one in this matter.

“(Signed) LETSIE.”

During the year 1890 Sir Marshal Clarke was absent on extended leave and the author was commissioned to administer the territory. Opportunity was taken of a Petition for the establishment of a Council presented by the Paramount Chief Letsie whose age and failing strength made him anxious for a national tribunal to which tribal quarrels, so fruitful of danger, might be referred. The form and scope of such a

Council were submitted and approved by the High Commissioner ; but as some Chiefs opposed it fearing loss of their power it was not then pressed upon them.

At this time a recrudescence of violence occurred. In the south the Bataung came to serious blows over the succession in their chieftainship. Several lives were lost before it was possible to judge and punish the rioters. A more extensive outbreak took place in Leribe between the sons of Molapo. By the assistance of Lerothodi, now acting as Regent, the combatants were separated. The ill-feeling was so acute that the Court had to meet closely surrounded by the armed forces of Jonathan and Joel, each keen to fly at the other. Whilst so engaged listening intently to a witness and absolute silence prevailed, a gun accidentally discharged so alarmed the armies that, fearing treachery, they flew in a panic to their horses saddled near by. It was an electric moment and if the camera had been brought into requisition it would have revealed, standing on the spot where a minute earlier some 12,000 armed warriors were squatting, only the Chief Lerothodi with his hands on the shoulders of the acting Resident Commissioner as if to protect him from violence, and one solitary Mosutu lying dead at their feet from shock. Messrs. Barrett, the Resident Magistrate of Leribe, and C. Griffith remained also in this strange group. This circumstance is only mentioned as an illustration of the volcanic character of those armed assemblies for the settlement of tribal feuds.

A few months later the Paramount Chief Letsie died and was succeeded by his son Lerothodi.

Then, in the middle of 1893, Sir Marshal Clarke

left Basutoland to take up important work in Zululand, the author succeeding him as Resident Commissioner. These changes afford the opportunity for brief reference to certain closing features of the nine years' period since 1884.

Progress had been steady and sound, but so quiet as to be almost invisible. Hut-tax increased from £4,600 in 1884 to £19,000 in 1892. The Profit and Loss account showed a good balance and no liabilities. The educational system was well established with a grant of £4,000 to 122 schools inspected annually by an Education Commissioner from the Cape Colony who reported that the results were favourable—more hopeful than could have been anticipated. Over 30,000 men were going out annually for foreign labour, returning with cash in their pockets to enrich the country. The comparative position is best stated perhaps in the words of Sir Hercules Robinson prior to leaving South Africa. Writing to the Secretary of State he said :—

“When the present condition of Basutoland is compared with the state of the country when it was handed back to the Imperial Government . . . it will I think be admitted that Sir Marshal Clarke and his officers have, in dealing with a very difficult problem, shown much patience, forbearance and sound judgment.

“It is satisfactory to know that whilst the Basutos as a tribe have been saved from extinction by the resumption on the part of the Imperial Government of authority over them, this step has not imposed any charge whatever on the taxpayers of the United Kingdom.”

Subsequently Lord Knutsford in a despatch of June 13, 1890, to Sir Henry Loch expressed his appreciation of the good work of Sir Marshal Clarke and his staff "to whom the Basuto people are permanently indebted for an administration of almost unparalleled success."

It may be admitted that the Imperial officers responsible for that administration devoted themselves to it in a whole-hearted way that promised success. But they could not have won it had not the Basuto, realizing the benefits of peace and just rule, been sensible enough to show intelligent co-operation in the efforts to guide and govern them.

## CHAPTER XXVIII

Lerothodi inherits troubles and is beset by intrigues and rivals: Maama and Masupha conspire: civil war narrowly averted: Maama subordinated: Rinderpest epidemic the cause of serious unrest: seditious behaviour of Lerothodi's sons who are brought to heel with difficulty: Moiketsi's escapade affords Masupha opportunity for a final struggle with Lerothodi who is victorious: Sir Alfred Milner as High Commissioner enunciates a firm policy: death of Masupha

1893—1898

THE author, who had been intimately associated with the administration since the annexation in 1884, was now in responsible charge of it and for the time being will be spoken of herein as the Resident Commissioner.

A new set of problems had sprung up affecting, not so much the position of the Government which was fairly well established, as that of the new Paramount Chief Lerothodi who, during the later years of his father's life had, in trying to secure the reversion of rights pertaining to the chieftainship he was to inherit, to encounter the jealousy and ill-feeling of some of his younger brothers of junior houses and other



Mojela

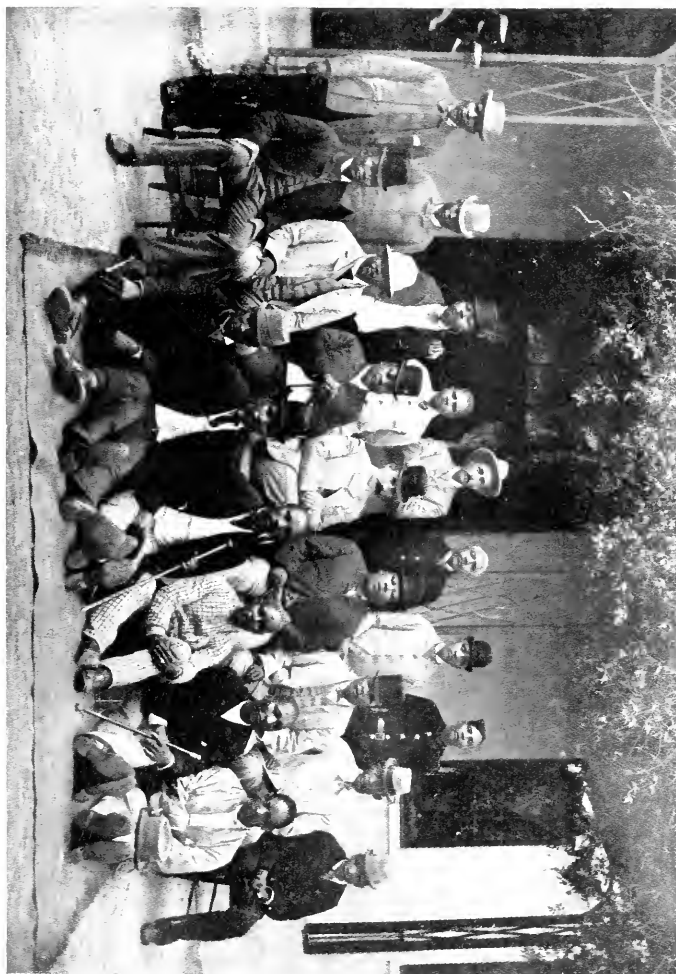
Theko.

Lerothodi.

Mr. Griffith.  
Sir G. Lagden.

Jonathan  
Molapo.

Nehemi ah.





relatives inspired by Masupha to resist and deprive him.

Letsie from the beginning of his reign had no rival; he was the acknowledged eldest son of Moshesh's chief wife and had a standing which no combinations at that time were powerful enough to shake. When apparently defied it was because on most occasions he saw reason to prompt it as an excuse for disobedience to orders of Government which he found it inconvenient to conform to.

Lerothodi succeeded under no such happy circumstances. In the first place, though nominated by Letsie as his successor, he was not altogether the legitimate heir being the son of the second wife. Letsie by his great wife had only one child, a daughter named Senate. When she grew up, Moshesh, disliking the idea of going outside the great house for succession, adopted the strange device of sending the girl in marriage to her cousin Joseph, the eldest son of Molapo, who was deranged. The male offspring of that union he proposed to appoint with honour in the presence of the nation as heir to Letsie. The first child of that union was Deborah, a girl; the second, a son Moetsweni who showed early symptoms of hereditary weakness. Nevertheless, Moshesh, who at the time was suffering from a fatal illness, summoned a National Pitso where by his order it was authoritatively published that Letsie would succeed him and be followed in succession by the infant Moetsweni who was held up to public gaze.

In view of the child's characteristic taint the Basuto never seriously regarded him as a possible Chief; but

his pretensions when he grew to man's estate were encouraged by the enemies of Lerothodi whenever they might usefully serve as a screen to cover intrigues directed against him. In that way, though Moetsweni had no large following in the country, he was an element of trouble with which Lerothodi always had to reckon.

In the second place, towards the latter end of Letsie's life when he had become decrepit and seldom moved further than from his hut to the *Lekhotla* (Court) adjoining, his younger sons took advantage of his weakness to appropriate to themselves improperly lands and other rights prerogative to the Paramount which afterwards they falsely claimed to have been granted them. Angry murmurs came from Lerothodi as he witnessed this despoiling process, but he forbore, perhaps unwisely, to grapple with it during his father's lifetime. When that ended he had to face it, to set his house in order and assert his rights. In so doing he incurred the enmity of the younger branches when called to account for their possessions, and the animosity of Masupha who at his time of life was not disposed to acknowledge the paramountcy of a younger Chief—one, too, born of the second house like Lerothodi.

It was not long therefore before intrigues developed into open opposition which unfortunately never broke down until the death of Masupha some years later. Lerothodi in fact throughout the greater part of his reign was haunted by it. As often happens in large families, Letsie, reputed to be the father of 120 children, had his favourites, of whom one a junior named Maama was the principal. He was a winning

lad, of good appearance, bold, educated and ambitious. His youth was characterized by excesses and questionable exploits. He seemed to be a prodigal son, finding favour and no censure notwithstanding unauthorized acts committed in his father's name. In that way he succeeded by misrepresentation in strengthening himself by attaching some hundreds of people, together with royal cattle lent to them, living on an extensive plateau called Korokoro not far from Matsieng, which had always been held as an appanage of the Paramount.

Being summoned by Lerothodi to account for his stewardship, Maama responded in tones neither obedient nor respectful. The Paramount Chief had therefore to come to close quarters with his brother against whom he marched with a strong force; but, acting upon advice, he withdrew and submitted the matter for Government decision which after due investigation went against the junior who was plainly told that tenant rights he enjoyed ceased with his father's life. The division of political parties as seen in this preliminary affair showed a distinct change since the death of Letsie. Lerothodi could calculate upon the support of his own brothers of the same house, Bereng and Theko, upon his own sons now growing up with substantial followings, and upon most of the old councillors. On the other side were ranged a considerable number of his younger brothers of inferior houses who could command several thousand men-at-arms, together with Masupha. The sons of Molapo fearing to involve themselves in the family quarrel remained practically neutral. On the whole the

balance of power was fairly equal except that Lerothodi had, during good behaviour, the moral support of Government which turned the scale in his favour.

This political redistribution of parties was quite natural. Moshesh's generation had passed away. Letsie's contemporaries were old men who had prolific families. The young Chiefs aspired to power and, elbowing out the elder Chiefs, grasped at land because land meant power, that is to say, it was held on feudal tenure and every fighting man was at disposal of that Chief who could allot him ground or displace him. Consequently the struggle turned entirely upon land, for every village upon which the new generation contended.

The armed movement in 1893 by Lerothodi towards Korokoro which terminated in a judicial decision in his favour was but the prelude in a big question that was to disturb the tribe for a long time. In 1894 the dispute was revived by Maama who persuaded those of his people who had fallen away from him, under the decision, to continue to look up to him instead of to Lerothodi and to cultivate ground without the latter's permission. Lerothodi very properly lodged his complaints with Government and asked the Resident Commissioner to send an officer to verify his complaints. The request was complied with; but, whilst the officer was so engaged, Bereng with Lerothodi's knowledge and consent moved up behind him with rapidity and secrecy a strong body of armed men which caused Maama and his friends under menace to fly to arms. This led to the congregation of large armed forces and threatened a civil war of serious dimensions.

Upon the eve of what appeared certain conflict the Resident Commissioner by general consent stepped in and brought the case to Court in the open veldt. Three days of exhaustive evidence were necessary before he could give judgment. He found that, although Maama had given initial provocation, for which the Court imposed a heavy fine upon him, he had not resorted defiantly to arms until frightened by the unwarranted expedition of Bereng whilst the matter was *sub judice*. Therefore, as the Paramount Chief Lerothodi connived at that expedition, he also was fined for contempt of the Court to which he had appealed. To punish the Paramount Chief publicly was a risky, certainly an unusual course ; but, as that Chief was firmly supported by Government when he behaved lawfully, it seemed highly important to disapprove in a marked manner of his discreditable conduct when it led to dangerous tumult. The fines were paid and the after-effect good.

The lesson was not lost upon Lerothodi. He brooked as well as he could the insolence of his brother Maama who, presuming upon the result of the last trial, soon overreached himself. Towards the close of 1894 the Paramount in the lawful exercise of his functions adjudged a native case relating to certain persons within his jurisdiction. They ignored the judgment and fled for protection to Maama who backed the defaulters and defied execution. Upon Lerothodi sending messengers to demand satisfaction they were set upon and one, a favourite and reliable envoy, killed. This roused the Paramount to the pitch of calling out his clans and soon the whole

country swarmed under arms into two camps prepared for a struggle, in which Lerothodi who had acted entirely within his rights was resolved to take up the challenge of his chieftainship.

The position was extremely critical. Maama had been summoned to attend the Paramount's Court to answer for his conduct. He refused to go and simultaneously fortified all roads and passes of approach to his country. Behind the fortifications lay Masupha who sided with him, in military command of a strong confederated force. Everything pointed to a great upheaval from one end of the country to the other.

At this juncture Lerothodi rode into Maseru and confessed to the Resident Commissioner that forces were now in motion which he was unable to control; the two armies were *vis-à-vis* and any moment, as neither would give way, a shot fired might plunge the nation into civil war. The Resident Commissioner, realizing the gravity of the situation, immediately went to the spot and had to determine rapidly what the attitude of Government should be. He had no force to overawe the antagonists; but he was able to give his moral support to one or the other with the knowledge that should the side he supported be reversed the blow would recoil upon Government.

Having satisfied himself that the Paramount Chief had suffered provocation, was without blame and entitled to support he informed Maama accordingly, at the same time urging him to obey the summons to Court. Maama refused. Lerothodi then asked leave to attack him and it remained for the Resident Commissioner to decide whether he should countenance



what promised to be a bloody contest. He reluctantly came to the conclusion that no other solution was possible and consented, not however before making a final effort to induce Maama to obey the summons. Two hours were given him; as there was no sign of him at the expiry of that time, orders were given to advance. Then, just as the dispositions for attack were maturing, messengers came from behind the fortifications to say that, if a Government officer were sent to escort him, Maama would surrender for trial. He had procrastinated to the last moment believing that Government would decline to be identified with warlike operations. The officer was sent, returned with Maama and the case was immediately brought into open Court in the centre of the combined armies.

When it had reached that stage, the Resident Commissioner with the help of a body of councillors found it easier to manage. After two or three days of disputation, judgment was given imposing a heavy fine on Maama and his accomplices, ordering the surrender of those concerned in the death of the envoy, and definitely affirming the right of Lerothodi to exercise immediate control over the people at Korokoro. The next day the fines were paid, boundaries beacons off by the Resident Commissioner, and some villages on the border line, the cause of perpetual disturbance, were burned to the ground.

Thus ended what threatened to be a violent outburst of disorder. The result was to stimulate the authority of the Paramount Chief and to subordinate Maama; but, as was natural, angry feelings could not be removed. For nearly two years afterwards

the country remained comparatively quiet. The crave for land and chieftainship gave rise to innumerable disputes, dwarfed in importance to those just related between the big Chiefs, but troublesome to the Magistrates whose intervention was in frequent requisition.

Towards the end of 1896, just as Basutoland was recovering from a wave of restlessness occasioned by the outbreak of rebellion in Matabeleland and the Jameson Raid—it is astonishing how disturbances elsewhere reflect themselves in native territories—the scourge of Rinderpest came to cause disquiet. A large section of the natives at once attributed the introduction of that dread disease to a sinister design on the part of Government to destroy their cattle; and when, in conjunction with neighbouring States, measures were ordered for erecting border fences and making screens by clearing zones of all cattle, resistance was offered. The appearance of armed white men on the Free State and Colonial borders as guards against the movement of cattle, set up fears it was alleged, which were proof against assurance of Government officers to the contrary, that invasion upon their independence was intended.

The opportunity was chosen by two fractious young sons of Lerothodi, Makhaola and Griffith, living in the mountain area adjacent to Cape Colony, to revolt against the orders, destroy fencing and intimidate those employed to arrest spread of the epidemic. Behind this revolt there lurked however a deeper design. These young bloods, to whom their father was inordinately indulgent, encouraged by a formidable band of juvenile warriors, knew or cared little for



From a painting by Mr. Samuel Barrett.

CROSSING A SWOLLEN RIVER BY HELP OF THE NATIVES.



the past history and problems of their country; they were infatuated with the idea that it was their mission to relieve their father Lerothodi and the elder Chiefs from the tyranny of British rule and restore to the Basuto Chiefs the barbaric power they had foolishly abdicated. This dream seems for some time previously to have possessed them, wanting only a suitable chance of expression. Their madness took the form of armed demonstrations of a riotous character along the Cape Colonial frontier in concert with some of the wild tribesmen of Griqualand East. It was distinctly a dangerous movement which might at any moment get out of hand and cause the worst complications. The authors of it were plainly bent on mischief and were from all accounts not averse to war with the Government.

The Resident Commissioner thereupon called the Paramount Chief to accompany him in a rapid march to Makhaola's village at Qacha's Nek, a five days' ride through the mountains, in order if possible to quell the tumult before an accident happened. The Chief being unable to ride sent two of his principal brothers to assist. The party arrived only just in time to prevent an outbreak. Receiving much help from Colonel Stanford, the Chief Magistrate of East Griqualand, and Mr. Barrett, the Resident Magistrate at Quthing, the Resident Commissioner was enabled to restrain the firebrands and remove the leaders.

Subsequently a Pitso was held at Maseru to try them. They pleaded that the sight of armed guards and fencing operations, together with reports that

Basutoland was to be opened for gold-prospecting, had excited them. The evidence went to show they had wicked intentions. In the end, some found guilty were sent to prison, and the young Chief Makhaola, held to be a menace to the public peace, was fined and ordered to remain for a time under surveillance at Maseru.

At that Pitso, Lerothodi, irritated at seeing three of his own sons in court, unguardedly let fall a word which induced them to think he was not loyally supporting the Government in its effort to control the unruly boys. Led by Letsienyane the elder (afterwards Paramount Chief) they rushed defiantly from the Court with a band of turbulent followers and, mounting their horses, galloped wildly to a stronghold near Mafeteng creating a panic in the country they passed through and taking up a warlike position. Lerothodi, alarmed at the demeanour of his children, made a frantic effort to stop them; but it was too late. It was only after two weeks of exciting suspense and tactful effort that the young Chiefs could be brought to a sense of their madness: fortunately they committed no outrage. They were eventually conducted back to Maseru to be fined and tender in open Court their submission and sorrow. This affair had in it all the elements that make for war. That it ended without some disaster was due to its condemnation by the senior Chiefs, including on this occasion Masupha who saw an ugly storm brewing and used his influence at the right moment.

This unfortunate disturbance tended to defeat in a great measure the efforts of Government to battle

with Rinderpest which had now taken a deadly hold in the country. Cordons for preventing the removal of diseased cattle were broken through and it seemed as though nothing could prevent total annihilation of the stock. The only recognized defence against it was fencing and entire destruction of affected herds. Both under the circumstances were impossible against public feeling. Luckily the investigations of Professor Koch proved that gall-inoculation gave immunity. That treatment was adopted with such success in Basutoland that a fair proportion of the cattle were saved. It was not made compulsory : those Chiefs who accepted it in time preserved a good percentage ; those who rejected it lost all. The country had in a short space passed through grave perils in which the Magistrates and Government officers had been sorely tried and displayed exemplary judgment.

Towards the end of 1897, the old chief Masupha took up a most pugnacious attitude towards the Paramount Chief and Government. Some years earlier a land dispute between himself and Leshoboro, the son of his deceased brother Majara, was settled in Court by the formal delimitation of boundaries. He never recognized them and now flagrantly violated them in such an aggressive way that a conflict ensued into which many clans were drawn and several lives lost. On being summoned by the Resident Commissioner to appear before a National Council to deal with the case, he first refused to go and then attended with a large body of men whose arms were concealed beneath their blankets. Though sullenly submitting to a judgment imposing fines on those immediately

responsible for the disturbance, he indulged in angry recrimination with the Paramount Chief during the sitting of the Court, which broke up in confusion. The land confirmed to Leshoboro had to be forcibly reoccupied by 1,500 men sent by the Paramount to uphold the decision of the Court. It was evident that the feud had reopened and that Masupha was aspiring again to divide the nation against Lerothodi.

An opportunity occurred within a few months. A junior son of Masupha named Moiketsi committed a grave violation of Free State territory by raiding it with a band of lawless followers in search of a native woman who had run away from Basutoland where her husband dwelt. He traced and seized the woman and was returning with his capture when intercepted by the Free State authorities who tried and sentenced him to imprisonment with lashes. Before execution of the sentence he contrived to escape with one Maboka a confederate. The Free State applied for his surrender under Extradition Treaty. For Conventional reasons that could not be complied with. But it was a serious offence at law for which he was triable in Basutoland Courts to which he was accordingly summoned. Masupha however refused to deliver up his son for trial, declaring at the same time he would resist any attempt at arrest.

The Resident Commissioner was therefore compelled to call upon the Paramount Chief, whose duty it was as the arm of the law to assert its authority, to effect the arrest. Lerothodi responded to the call and took up the burden. He first of all exhausted every persuasion, which the officers of Government had already



done, and, that failing, marched on his duty in full strength to Thaba Bosigo which Masupha had evacuated in favour of a powerful stronghold near by overlooking the Putiatsana River. It was now manifest that a keen struggle was about to ensue. The clans from all directions gathered in such force that about 20,000 men divided into two armies of nearly equal strength confronted each other on either side of the river. The question had become not so much the surrender of a criminal as a contest for supremacy between tribal sections led by Lerothodi and Masupha. It had been patched up again and again by the aid of the Resident Commissioner ; but the crisis had arrived.

The position of the Administration on the matter was clear. The law demanded the surrender for trial of a prisoner accused of violating a friendly State ; the order was given and, if not complied with, the British Government must, if it approved the action of its officers, either support them, should the Paramount Chief fail in his duty, or retire ; it could not with decency remain in the country and submit to downright defiance. At that time Sir Alfred Milner was High Commissioner. He was not the exponent, so far as it was known, of any new policy but for the first time he placed a definite interpretation upon the duties and obligations of Her Majesty's Government. Writing to the Resident Commissioner on the situation he said in effect : The matter admits only of one solution. You have demanded and rightly demanded with my approval the delivery of the criminal son of Masupha. You have constitutionally

called upon the Paramount Chief to exert his power in arresting and handing over the prisoner ; if he fails, we must assert our authority with British troops or clear out bag and baggage ; we cannot tarry and see our rule dishonoured.

In such terms Lerothodi was informed. He was a man of strong impulses who having once made up his mind kept boldly to it. He had now got an Ultimatum and, feeling sure of the moral support of his Government, determined to satisfy it, staking all if needs be on the issue of a battle. A section of the nation endeavoured to turn him from his purpose by warning that he was giving himself away, as British troops were preparing to occupy the country ; but he was not deterred.

Early in January 1898 with about 10,000 men he seized the salient points around Masupha's stronghold. This brought on a general action in which some 20 men fell. Then the position was thoroughly invested. At that moment Jonathan Molapo, who for some strange reason had with 1,000 men gone to assist Masupha while professing loyalty in support of the law, deserted and went home. The siege was prolonged for various reasons. The fortress was strong ; the Putiatsana was so flooded as to prevent operations ; Masupha caused delay by procrastinating overtures hoping to gain time whilst they were discussed by Chiefs in council. But in due time the stronghold was vigorously assaulted and taken ; besides many wounded, 31 were killed on the side of Lerothodi and 24 on the side of Masupha. Moiketsi was surrendered and formally handed to the Resident

Commissioner by whom he was tried and sentenced to imprisonment. Further, Masupha was subjected to a heavy fine of cattle, deprived of his district chieftainship and forbidden to reoccupy his historic village at Thaba Bosigo which was utterly dismantled by order of Court.

The general result of these operations, brought about entirely through the obstinate defiance of the law by Masupha, was that Lerothodi, who behaved with gallantry and intelligence, enjoyed for the first time undisputed supremacy. It was another turning-point in the history of the nation. The Basuto, who with their usual sense rallied at the right moment, were made to realize that though their independence was respected it was the positive intention of Her Majesty's Government to insist upon law and order and to assert it with troops if the Chiefs failed to maintain it or failed to obey constitutional orders. The officers on the spot felt also that they might confidently do what was right and reasonable in upholding the prestige of Her Majesty's Government without fear of being left.

The blow fell heavily upon Masupha. He had risked all upon the hazard of a battle with Lerothodi—the biggest on record—and lost. The defeat mortified him so much that he broke down and died some months later. In him the Basuto lost an ideal Chief whom they admired because he was a great warrior and a sturdy champion for independence. Legions were always ready to follow him in any adventure but came to a halt at the point of tribal disruption, for that they knew meant tribal extinction.

His policy was one of consistent opposition to any form of government. With all his faults he had the merit of being a man of his word. The author, who endured much trouble and anxiety at his hands, always admired his attractive personality and manliness, regretting only that one of so strong and interesting a character should have delayed instead of furthered the progress of his people.



TWENTY THOUSAND PASUTOS AT MEETING WITH SIR ALFRED MILNER, 1896.



## CHAPTER XXIX

Sir Alfred Milner visits Basutoland and stiffens the policy : outbreak of South African War : its effect on Basuto who are bewildered : Free State intrigues : President Steyn's Proclamation : the non-intervention policy for Basutoland : how it was carried out : the siege of Wepener and how the Basuto helped to relieve it : the defection of Joel and loyalty of Lerothodi : Sir G. Lagden leaves Basutoland : financial and other changes

1899—1901

THE discomfiture and decease of Masupha were followed by a term of comparative quiet of which Sir Alfred Milner availed himself to pay Basutoland a visit. He was royally received and in the course of an extended tour entered freely into discussion with the tribe at public gatherings upon all matters concerning their welfare, letting it be clearly understood that when the considered orders of Her Majesty's Government were given they were intended to be obeyed ; public opinion, he told them, would be welcomed through a National Council or in any constitutional form, but disobedience was to be a thing of the past. It just wanted that stiffening policy to steady them against those violent outbreaks of disorder which had so frequently imperilled their safety.

As the year 1899 was drawing to a close there were plain indications that the great white races in South Africa, English and Dutch, were on the eve of a mighty struggle. The Free State Boers living along 200 miles of the Basutoland frontier, aware of the imminent declaration of war, intrigued to win over the Basuto and to shake their faith in British power. The purpose of course was to gain their friendly alliance or, failing that, to secure their neutrality, for there lay hundreds of farms within sight of the border which needed protection if fear existed that savage hordes might pounce upon them. If that protection had to be given, a considerable portion of the Free State army would not be available to take the field against the Queen's troops. These intrigues were carried into the heart of Basutoland. From the Paramount Chief downwards all Chiefs were got at with the object of misleading, of distorting the real question at issue, of disparaging the power of England and of courting them to the Republican side by means of threats and seductive promises.

When war actually broke out a Republican Proclamation in the following terms was issued from Bloemfontein :—

#### “PROCLAMATION

*“To the Chiefs and Nation of the Basutos*

“Be it known that the English Government have forced a war upon the Transvaal. The real cause of the war is that there are gold-fields and diamonds in the Transvaal which certain English people covet.



The Free State is helping the Transvaal in this unjust war that the English Government have brought about. As the Free State is liable to be attacked by the British Government on all sides, it has sent commandos of burghers to the neighbourhood of its several borders in order to defend this country in case of attack. The Free State has stationed such commandos in the neighbourhood of the Basutoland border.

“Be it known, however, that the Free State is at peace with the Basutos and has no quarrel with them and desires to remain at peace with them. No harm will be done to Basutos who remain quiet and take no part in the assistance of the English.

“Given under my hand and great seal of the Orange Free State on the 18th day of October 1899 at Bloemfontein.

“(Signed) M. T. STEIJN,  
“State President.”

Concurrent with the issue of that Proclamation, which was translated into Sesuto and secretly circulated in Basutoland, the Paramount and other leading Chiefs received messages in the name of the President intimating that the Basuto Chiefs must quickly choose their side ; delay would be dangerous ; if they took the English side it would be fatal to them.

That the first impulse of the Basuto was to be loyal to their British protectors was unquestionable. But the story of Majuba and retrocession of the Transvaal in 1881 was not forgotten, nor did the Boers omit to keep it green in the memory of the natives. What had happened once might happen again. It is not

surprising therefore that the Basuto who had witnessed so many fickle changes in past years should hesitate or even divide amongst themselves where doubt existed as to their best line of safety. The lessons of history had taught them as it taught many English colonists in South Africa that, however strong their instincts, it was inexpedient to be on the losing side.

Probably all the native races in South Africa viewed with a certain quiet pleasure the prospect of seeing the two white races at each other's throats. To the minds of some it seemed that the fates had given them this singular opportunity for combination which might emancipate them from white domination. That idea, had it developed, might have clouded South Africa with a black terror, might have deflected the course of the white struggle and justified President Kruger's prophecy that the war would be one to "stagger humanity."

Nothing went more to make the natives halt between opinions than the conflicting accounts they received during the early stages of the campaign. What they saw and knew was that a series of shocking reverses overtook British arms at first ; that Ladysmith, Kimberley and Maffeking were beleaguered whilst hundreds of soldiers wended their way as prisoners to Pretoria, the Boers meanwhile holding the entire country in absolute sway. To counteract that evidence there was the positive assurance that Great Britain, aided by its Colonies, had put its hand to the plough and would not look back ; moreover that a stream of troops was pouring into every port and gradually beating back invasion. It was hard to weave the

truth out of so many versions of fact ; they were simply bewildered by the magnitude and varying conditions of the war which from first appearances was distinctly unfavourable to the British.

It became necessary at an early date to lay down clearly what the policy in Basutoland should be. The Resident Commissioner gave emphatic expression to the opinion, endorsed by every administrator of experience in South Africa, that it would be a criminal act of the highest order to approve or connive at the intervention in any militant form of any of the native races. It was so easy to set savage forces in motion, so impossible perhaps afterwards to restrain them. The High Commissioner, Sir Alfred Milner, strongly supported this view. Therefore the Basuto Chiefs were by his order informed that :—

It was a white man's war in which natives were not to take part.

If Basutoland were invaded by the Boers it could be defended in the Queen's name ; beyond that, there must be no aggressive movement or violation of the border.

The Magistrates gave their undivided attention to affairs that hung upon those instructions. With very little exception the instructions were faithfully observed by the Basuto who were tempted again and again to plunder rich herds of cattle straying on deserted farms within sight, only wanting to be driven off. Solitary thieves occasionally broke away and stole but were instantly brought to book.

When the Free State felt satisfied that this restraining

policy was being honestly carried out, their commandos on the border were largely withdrawn to Kimberley and Ladysmith, so that it had the immediate effect of strengthening the Boer forces in the field against the British advance. Though that was so, and the military authorities considered it particularly unfortunate as it were to aid the enemy at such a juncture, none can regret the unswerving resolution to keep the natives out of it. Future historians may regard it as one of the brightest features in the war that every British administrator in South Africa adhered sternly to that resolution.

Notwithstanding, some of the Free State commandos being full of confidence in themselves though mistrustful designed to seize and depose the Basutoland officials and then to control the Basuto in such a manner as to ensure their good behaviour. For that purpose the sympathy of certain Chiefs was sought and, as will hereafter appear, promised. Possibly the design was frustrated by the action of the Resident Commissioner who, believing it to be imperative to hold Maseru the seat of government, armed as well as possible the few white inhabitants for its defence, assisted by a strong guard of Basuto encamped by Lerothodi in the vicinity under his brother Mojela and his son Api. Just as those measures were taken, the Government pont on the Caledon River, the only means of communication, was maliciously cut adrift by the Boers. Within an hour a large force of Basuto were concentrated at the spot awaiting any orders. It served to show that acts of aggression would be forcibly and promptly resisted.

PONT ON CALEDON RIVER AT MASERTU.





As military operations rolled up against and along the frontier the doubts and perplexities of the natives increased. It seemed so unaccountable to them that Ladybrand, Ficksburg, Wepener, Thaba Nchu and other places should be one day garrisoned by English troops and placed under Magistrates who under martial law compelled the civilians to show their colours and obey orders, and then evacuated, leaving those who had loyally responded to the tender mercies of the Boers who immediately reoccupied the towns. Wepener in particular had gloomy experiences of this character. Finally it was occupied by a strong contingent of Cape Mounted Rifles and Volunteers. They had barely time to entrench themselves roughly when surrounded and placed in a desperate position by a Free State army.

Wepener lies on the Caledon River skirting Basutoland. Under the belief that his entrenchments were screened from attack on that side as being neutral ground, Colonel Dalgety in command had based his plan of defence. It transpired however that the Boers were about to occupy certain prominent points within Basutoland that would serve to enfilade him, in which case he would have no option but to surrender. The Resident Commissioner on learning this intelligence instantly summoned the Paramount Chief with a force to accompany him there and resist the attempt. Within a few hours Lerothodi with several thousand men was on the spot. It had the combined effect of defeating the project, of preventing a violation of the border and of giving confidence to the garrison.

Lerothodi, always gallant and at heart loyal, was

unusually stirred at the sight of a few hundred Britishers penned up by the Republican forces several thousand strong in a hopeless position who, though standing their ground bravely, were short of food and ammunition and subject to perpetual bombardment from long-range guns to which they could not reply. He asked the simple question whether it was right to stand by and see the Queen's soldiers in such a predicament and whether he might be allowed to "cause a diversion." The Resident Commissioner answered that their united duties must be limited to protection of the border. In due course the garrison was relieved. This armed demonstration was legitimately made, was under control and served its purpose. The natives provided their own food during two weeks and did not commit a disorderly act.

There continued to be serious disunion in the tribe as to the attitude it should assume towards the belligerents. A section of the Chiefs followed Lerothodi in his loyalty ; another section considered it wise to coquette with the Boers in a friendly way ; a third section supported them openly. The Boers knew well that their safest plan was, by fomenting tribal quarrels between the Chiefs, to keep them employed on their own affairs. In so doing they were partially successful. At one period they unquestionably gained the ear of the Basuto who, after the long train of British reverses ending in repeated failure to relieve Ladysmith, feared ascendancy by the Dutch and deemed it expedient to get on useful terms of amity with them.

One Chief however, Joel Molapo, was honest enough



to declare himself from the first as an ally of the Free State. In an evil hour he allowed himself to become the tool of those who sought to promote a tumult in Basutoland by raking up the embers of the old feud between the sons of Molapo. So he played into their hands, attacked Jonathan savagely and hopelessly committed himself in other ways. Some others were of his way of thinking but did not show it so openly. His betrayer was one Field-Cornet Rautenbach who on a public platform at Fouriesburg stated :—

“That he had entered into negotiations with Joel and reported the result to the Free State Executive Council at Bloemfontein—how the Executive Council had sent for him and then sent him back with a mission to Joel—how he had carried out his instructions and accomplished it successfully ; should there be fighting on the Basuto border, their neighbour across the river [Joel] would be found fighting alongside them.”

Fortunately Jonathan held his own well. By the tact of Mr. MacGregor the Magistrate of Leribe and his assistant Mr. Boxwell resident at Joel's, the disturbance was circumscribed. But the situation was delicate. It was impossible at the moment to deal with Joel for his treachery. Neither the Resident Commissioner nor the Paramount Chief knew what power they could command when opinion was so much divided ; a false move might have ended disastrously, have suited intrigues and sorely embarrassed the Government. The policy was to sit

tight, to let Joel and his likes alone for the time being, and to confide in the good faith of the tribe as a whole which, owing to exaggerated reports of Dutch successes, not unreasonably hesitated to avow its loyalty. For months the long lane of British misfortune seemed to have no turning. But when the news of Paardeberg and capture of Bloemfontein arrived, a change came over the scene ; feelings veered round and a shout of rejoicing went up. Then all anxiety as to the loyalty of the Basuto ceased and the difficulty of restraining them from outrage on the disconsolate Free State was enhanced.

The narrative of Basutoland incidents and anxieties during those critical months immediately following the outbreak of hostilities in 1899, commonly known as the Black Period, might provide pages for the writer of war history. It was the old story of British magistrates fearlessly yet silently doing their duty under every conceivable disadvantage. Surrounded by enemies at war with their country, cut off from the world, their mission was to guide the destinies of a native race, to hold up the prestige of their flag that was down, to combat the forces of disorder and to counter intrigue. That they performed this service well and truly the records of the year bear witness. Their reward came to them in the confidence and respect they eventually won from the tribe for whom they laboured.

It will appear from what has been said of the attitude of the Basuto during the principal war period that they wavered in their allegiance, not so much from disloyalty as from dread lest by leagu- ing them-

Joel  
Molapo.

Lancers  
Gap.



PITSO, SIR ALFRED MILNER'S VISIT, 1896.



selves with the British they might prove to have taken the losing side and then come under the lash of the conquerors. In balancing the prospect they divided themselves so closely that Government never could be sure which way the scales would drop in any emergency ; it had therefore to act with grave caution at all times and to take bold risks occasionally. In the Paramount Chief Lerothodi was found one who had the courage of his absolutely loyal convictions. He was threatened and cajoled by the Boers, taunted by many of his own people for being on the wrong side, and tempted by the situation to seek benefits for himself and the nation ; but he suffered himself to be guided by the Resident Commissioner and never stirred from his allegiance. The same may be said of Jonathan Molapo who was a tower of strength to his Magistrate in holding on to the station at Thlotsi and neutralizing the danger caused by Joel's treason. Of Joel it must be remembered that when consenting to become the disloyalist leader he had fallen under the spell of Rautenbach and further, that the thought uppermost in his mind was not so much to favour the Queen's enemies as to get the better of his brother Jonathan ; the rivals could never share the same camp.

The policy of preserving the neutrality of Basutoland, thus placing it beyond the theatre of military operations, proved sound. Both sides respected the understanding. But that did not prevent a great deal being done to aid refugees of any nationality in distress and to provide hospital accommodation for sick and wounded. For the latter purpose all medical

resources were skilfully organized by Dr. E. C. Long the Principal Medical Officer. Further, the British Army was supplied with several thousand Basuto ponies and furnished with valuable military intelligence. Out of many communications of a similar character received during the war from the highest authorities the following is a type, addressed by Lord Roberts to the Resident Commissioner :—

“I am very grateful for what you have done in taking care of our sick and wounded. Please accept my cordial thanks for the valuable assistance you have afforded me since I arrived, more especially during siege of Wepener. The accurate information you have sent has materially aided me in arranging for the disposition of troops and has been of the greatest benefit to the public service.”

Early in 1901 the author retired from Basutoland in order to take up important duties under Lord Milner in the Transvaal.

Though political changes during the last few years, the recasting of tribal parties and the war were all exciting causes of unrest, the movement towards national progress went silently on. It will be convenient here to note one or two particular points. One Paramount Chief, Letsie, had died ; another, Lerothodi, had been successfully guided through internecine troubles that only subsided after the overthrow of Masupha. The most serious of all, the revolt of Lerothodi's own children, had it developed badly, must have materially altered the relations

between the Basuto and Her Majesty's Government and led probably to loss of their tribal independence. Happily for them no catastrophe occurred to break continuity in the form of Administration.

One conspicuous feature was the strengthening of the financial position by an increase of hut-tax from 10s. to £1, thus nearly doubling the revenue. It came about in this way. When Sir Alfred Milner visited the country in 1898, he pointed out how undesirable it was that Basutoland, a prosperous and well-to-do country, should continue dependent upon the Cape Colony for making up the annual deficit which, under the arrangements for dis-annexation, it contracted to do in the form of a fixed annual subsidy. Each year vexatious questions arose in the Cape Parliament when the vote came on, resulting in a claim by that Parliament to exercise a certain interference with Basutoland financial affairs. Moreover, so long as that lasted, no surplus could ever accrue by means of which the Basuto people or country could be satisfactorily developed. The Paramount Chief readily appreciated that view ; he acknowledged that, to be really independent, they must be prepared to pay their own way, and he agreed without hesitation to pay a double tax. Some months later at the annual Pitso the Resident Commissioner announced the decision. Lerothodi endorsed it and the matter was at an end. But that year there was a scarcity of food owing to failure of crops ; the collection was therefore wisely deferred until the following year when it was paid without demur, and even before a new law to make it operative had been proclaimed by the

High Commissioner. The delay in so doing was occasioned by the war.

Amongst other national movements was the increased demand for education and industrial training. The schools in 1901 had increased to 188 with over 11,000 scholars. In addition, each year a number of lads were being sent by Government to Training Institutes at Lovedale and other centres where teaching of trades formed part of the curriculum. Discussing this question in 1895, Lerothodi expressed the desire of his people to have an Industrial Institute of their own in the country. The Resident Commissioner thereupon invited him to show some earnest of the desire by subscribing for building and endowment. This was responded to by the national collection of £3,184 in sums varying from the value of an ox at £6 to threepenny bits. The capital was banked and utilized later on for the purpose.

No form of education affected the life and character of the people more than the establishment of free Dispensaries which in course of time extended to every district. The natives were first shy of them ; but eventually realizing the benefits, they attended in overwhelming numbers. Hitherto the people had been dependent in sickness and accident upon the service of native doctors whose only qualifications were their reputations as demonologists with the knowledge of potent drugs extracted from herbs. Nothing contributed more to the elimination of belief in witchcraft than giving the people easy access to Hospitals and Dispensaries presided over by sympathetic medical officers.



SIR GODFREY LAGDEN AND STAFF AT MASERU DURING WAR, 1899.



Sub-Inspr.  
Pritchard.

Mr. Sloley.

Sub-Inspr.  
Boyes.  
Mr. C. V.  
Brabant.  
Sir G. Lagden

Sub-Inspr.  
Griffith.  
Dr. Long.

Mr. C. Griffith.

Sub-Inspr.  
Cooke.



## CHAPTER XXX

Mr. Sloley appointed Resident Commissioner: Joel Molapo brought to trial and punished: formation and constitution of a National Council: death of Lerothodi, a brave Chief: Lord Selborne succeeds Lord Milner as High Commissioner, visits Basutoland, opens Railway, lays foundation of Industrial Institute and reviews progress of country: the Basuto are concerned about their position under the Act of South African Union and send deputation to petition the King: Lord Crewe's reply

1902—1909

THE new Resident Commissioner appointed in 1901 was Mr. Herbert Cecil Sloley. That officer after a term in the Cape Mounted Rifles and other South African service had been employed for the previous seventeen years in Basutoland. He had officiated with distinction in every sort of capacity, latterly as Government Secretary and Accountant. His appointment secured continuity of Administration through an experienced and capable officer in sympathy with the work.

Although, as he said in his first Report, the protracted state of hostilities between the white races no longer occasioned the same excitement in the

minds of the Basuto, there were causes for anxiety and necessity for watchfulness. The moral effect of the campaign carried on under their eyes would only be complete when the guerilla warfare so successfully prolonged was stamped out.

The Chief Joel Molapo continued to give sympathy and assistance to the Boers in arms lurking in the rugged parts of the upper Caledon valley where secretion was possible. But the turn of affairs made him relent of his error to the extent that throughout 1901 he felt his way by means of humble letters and messages in the direction of gaining clemency. In 1902, without resistance he surrendered for trial and was sentenced to a year's imprisonment together with a fine of five hundred cattle, in lieu of which the sum of £2,000 was tendered and accepted. This punishment, inflicted upon him after two years' forbearance by Government of his rebellious conduct, gave a lesson to the Basuto that the law would certainly fall in time upon all offenders.

In the northern and southern extremities of Basutoland the Resident Commissioner was compelled to call out bodies of armed Basuto to oppose anticipated movements of Boer commandos in flight through the country. The natives behaved in an orderly manner, happily without provoking collisions. It was calculated that during the war over 2,000 European unarmed refugees, mostly of Dutch extraction, were afforded asylum in Basutoland.

When Peace was proclaimed in 1902 the disbandment of various auxiliary corps in South Africa let loose a large filibustering element charged with wild

talk about new campaigns, one being to go and "settle up the Basuto." The latter fell into a state of considerable unrest owing to false rumours as to the intentions of the Imperial Government to disarm them and make other political changes affecting their country. The uneasiness, by no means unwarranted, was not quelled until Lord Milner met a body of Chiefs and people at Ladybrand to reassure them against the changes they feared.

The year 1903 is memorable in Basutoland history as witnessing the consummation of an ideal which since 1883 had been worked and waited for patiently, viz. an unanimous agreement by the Chiefs upon the subject of a National Council to deal with tribal affairs in consultation with Government. Sir Thomas Scanlan started the idea, it was followed up at intervals, without being pressed, by Sir Marshal Clarke and Sir Godfrey Lagden, and nibbled at for years by Letsie and Lerothodi. The latter, conscious of his failing health due to drinking excess, and anxious to strengthen the position of his successor a head-strong young Chief, came to an understanding with Mr. Soley, to whom belongs the credit of establishing on sound lines a popular House of native Representatives corresponding to the advisory Council of a Crown Colony, without of course the power of legislation.

It would not be correct to call it in any sense an elective Council. By its constitution the members, about one hundred in number, were to be partly selected by the Chiefs and partly nominated by Government. Its functions were to discuss appropria-

tion of money paid in taxes, to ventilate opinions and grievances, to deliberate upon tribal disputes and confer with the Administration upon internal affairs. The first meeting was characterized by genuine attempts to abolish defects in the system of native self-government and resulted in the adoption of a Code of laws for local application. That Code was in its way a Magna Charta contemplated to safeguard equally the prerogative of Chiefs while maintaining rights for the common people. It provided amongst other things for :—

The recognition of direct Succession in Chieftainship ;

The authority of constituted Chiefs to adjudicate and summon their people for personal service ;

The abolition of punishment and confiscation without fair trial ;

The right of the people to land subject to allotment by Chiefs ;

Statutory punishment for seduction and abduction of women.

Of these provisions none will tend more towards happiness and contentment than the last. The social system of the native races is bound up with marriage dowry, which has a salutary influence upon the morals of women. Wherever in South Africa the system has been interfered with by civilized law, misery and demoralization have followed.

In 1905 the Paramount Chief Lerothodi broke down and died at the age approximately of seventy. He possessed all those attributes of a Chief such as the natives

love and revere. Bold and determined on the battlefield, arbitrary in rule, passionate when defied but, like his grandfather Moshesh, neither revengeful nor cruel by nature, he inherited all the faults common to one of his race and position. He discerned that salvation for the tribe lay in its patronage by the Imperial Government to whom he gave almost unwavering support, often unpopular, without abdicating his privileges. The officers who had to work with him, and his people in general, deplored the death of a Chief distinguished in their memory for his fearlessness and generosity of character. His eldest son Letsienyane, neither strong in intellect or physique, succeeded, taking the patronym of his grandfather Letsie.

The following year marked another stage of advance by the introduction of railways to bring up merchandize and carry off the large stock of grain produced in the country. When the idea was first mooted, the younger generation, always fearful of innovation, sounded the tribe as to resistance but were sternly overruled by Lerothodi. In the early part of 1906 Lord Selborne, who had succeeded Lord Milner as High Commissioner, paid an official visit to Basutoland where he was received in a princely manner and chose the occasion to formally open the railway which crossed the first bridge ever built in the country; other bridges soon followed. He also laid the foundation-stone of an Industrial School, the initial funds for which were subscribed by Lerothodi as stated in a previous chapter.

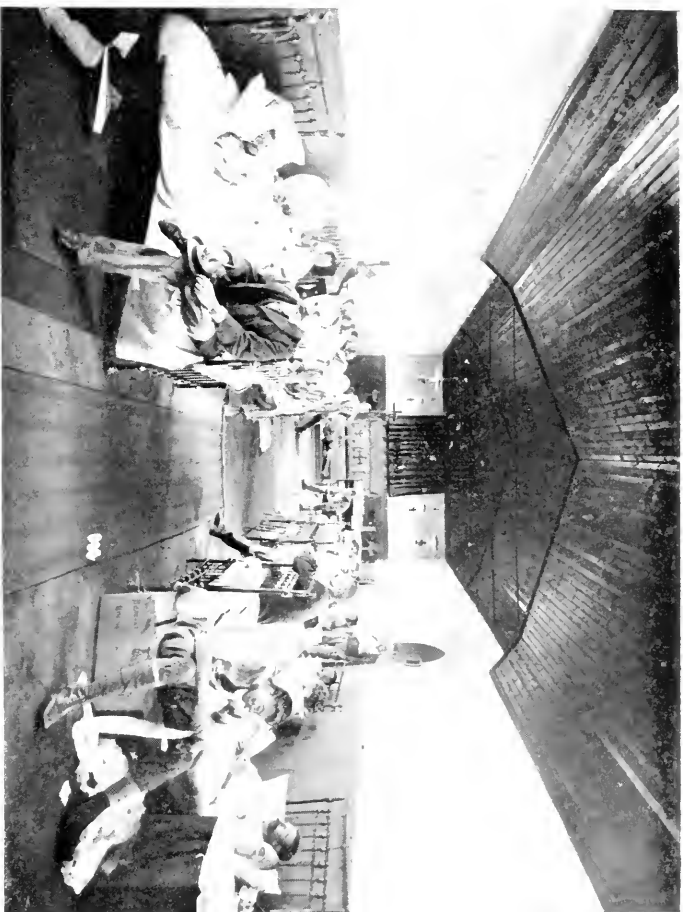
This visit coincided with the Zulu rebellion then going on and which public opinion in South Africa

imagined would extend to the Basuto who were considered to be ripe for mischief. Instead of that, under guidance of their Resident Commissioner, and remembering how awkwardly they became involved over the Langalibalele trouble, they guarded the Drakensberg Passes against fugitives from Natal who might seek to embroil them. There was in this attitude an intelligent regard for history and a sound rejoinder to those who doubted their fidelity.

In a despatch of May 11, 1908, Lord Selborne drew an interesting picture of Basutoland past and present. The present dated from the period when, as a result of the increased hut-tax previously referred to, the country began to enjoy the use of any surplus it could make. Prior to that date it was cruelly handicapped and impoverished. So soon as the war-clouds disappeared and British Colonies became its neighbours on all sides, it prospered by leaps and bounds. Commenting on the record of unbroken progress under Mr. Sloley, he wrote to the Secretary of State :—

“ . . . The yearly revenue has increased by £30,000 and the Government has to its credit a surplus of £150,000. . . . Maseru is now the terminus of a branch line. . . . The Topographic and Geodetic survey has been extended to Basutoland, . . . no mean achievement when one recalls the political difficulties and prejudices which had to be overcome ; the day is not long past when the Basuto would have regarded a theodolite with suspicion and a locomotive with terror. . . . The National Council became an estab-





ENGLISH MISSION CHURCH, MAIFETENG, USED AS A HOSPITAL, WAR OF 1900.



lished fact ; . . . its institution marks one of the most important steps not only in the progress of the Basuto nation, but in the history of South African native administration. . . . There are now bridges over the Caledon River at Maseru and Ficksburg and a third almost completed over the Little Caledon. . . . There is at Maseru a hospital containing 28 beds and another at Leribe containing 18. Both are equipped with full nursing staffs and all the latest appliances. . . . Agriculture has been encouraged by the purchase of 11 stallions ; . . . the Government has been introducing thoroughbred rams. . . . Sheep-dipping tanks have been established at nine centres . . . and Nurseries . . . with a view to the systematic planting of trees. . . . The Education grant . . . now amounts to nearly £12,000."

The progress so enthusiastically proclaimed by Lord Selborne was well deserved by all who subscribed to it ; by those who laid the foundations of it with scanty means ; by himself for his warm personal interest and encouragement ; by the succession of Government officers, missionaries and others, including some highly respected licensed traders, all of whom were closely identified with it ; and by the Basuto themselves who submitted to it.

The year 1908 will be commemorated by South Africa as one of its greatest, when the most distinguished of its citizens met in Conference under Lord Selborne to formulate a scheme for Federation. Their great effort terminated in an Act of Union now before the British Parliament for ratification. The

draft Act contained provisions, to be discussed later, for the transfer to the Union of any native Territories or Protectorates under conditions of government laid down in a Schedule. Upon publication of that document, the Basuto and their friends in South Africa became apprehensive lest their land and cherished institutions should be threatened if they became absorbed. Their experience of twenty-four years under direct rule by the Imperial Government, marred at times by tumult of their own creation, left them contented and in a marked degree prosperous; under the Colonial Government it had not been so. Therefore they were spontaneously moved to present by deputation a Prayer to the King of England. In pursuance of that resolve a body of representative Chiefs came to England early in 1909 and, being introduced personally by their Resident Commissioner, Mr. Sloley, laid the following Petition before His Majesty :—

*(Received in Colonial Office 11 February.)*

#### “ PETITION

*by the Paramount Chief of Basutoland, with the other Chiefs and people of the Basuto Nation, to His Majesty King Edward VII., R.I., by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British dominions beyond the seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.*

“ GREETING, O KING !

“ We, the Paramount Chief Letsie, other Chiefs, and the whole of the Basuto nation, humbly beg to offer your Majesty our condolences upon the death

of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, under whose benevolent Government we, and our fathers, for so many years enjoyed the blessings of peace and prosperity. It is our custom after the death of a great Chief to offer such condolences, and we beg Your Majesty to accept them from your humble servants, the Basuto people. We, and our forefathers, have for forty years enjoyed the blessings of government and protection under the British Government, and on this, the first occasion of a visit of Basuto Chiefs to England, we desire to offer to Your Majesty from Your Majesty's Servants, the Chiefs and people of Basutoland, an assurance of our loyalty to Your Majesty's Throne and Government, and of our gratitude for the protection and government which have been graciously given us.

"We also humbly petition Your Majesty that in the event of your Majesty's South African Colonies combining at some future date in the form of unification or federation, Basutoland may not be included in such union, but may remain outside it, as far as possible, independent as it is now.

"It is the desire of our whole nation that the present form of Government of the people of Basutoland should continue, as at present, unaltered.

"Should the present form of ruling us be discontinued, we feel grave anxiety that our national existence will cease, our old native laws and customs be cast aside, and our whole constitution, as granted us by your August Mother, Queen Victoria, and continued by your gracious Majesty, will be shattered.

"We, one and all of us, are greatly satisfied, Your

Majesty, with our present form of Government as administered by the officers appointed by Your Majesty's High Commissioner, the Earl of Selborne.

"Under this rule, O King, have we peacefully flourished, and we hope and feel certain will so continue to flourish, and we look forward to Your Majesty aiding us in this, by always extending to us that powerful, helping and guiding hand, from which we have received so many and great benefits.

"We feel that our country is not yet ripe for a great change of ideas, customs and habits which our people could neither understand nor appreciate.

"Thus do we humbly beseech thee, O King! to make us easy in our minds by telling us we need have no fear, in the event of South African unification or federation, that our nation will be absorbed in any of Your Majesty's Colonies, and thereby lose our national existence and our old native laws and customs which are so well administered by Your Majesty's representatives in Basutoland—the Resident Commissioner, the Assistant Commissioners, Officers and Magistrates as appointed by the High Commissioner, the Earl of Selborne.

"If it ever becomes inevitable, O King! that Basutoland must become part of a Federated South Africa, we pray that we may enter such union taking with us our present form of Government, our ancient customs and our ancient native laws.

"We would also humbly ask that if Basutoland should ever be included in such union, the land of the country may be preserved for us, may remain inalienable for our use, as it is at present, and that

this may be secured for us in such manner as Your Majesty may direct.

"We would also ask that the Basuto National Council which has recently been granted to us by Your Majesty's Government, may be preserved in whatever political changes may take place. We humbly beg that the Council may be continued and strengthened, and that the advice and opinion of the Council may be heard in all matters that affect our interests.

"And we, the whole Basuto nation, beg to subscribe themselves Your Majesty's most humble, loving and loyal subjects,

"Lumela Ntata Basutho, &c., &c.,

"LETSIE L. MOSHOESHOE.

"MORENA OA BASUTO.

"PHAHAMENG MORIJA,

"BRITISH BASUTOLAND, 1908."

To that Petition the Secretary of State, Lord Crewe, addressed the following reply :—

# SECRETARY OF STATE'S REPLY TO PETITION FROM BASUTOS AS TO THEIR INCLUSION IN THE UNION

"CHIEFS,

"Your Petition to His Majesty, which he was graciously pleased to receive and place in my hands, has asked that you may not be included in the South African Union, and that the present form of Government of the people of Basutoland should continue unaltered, and that if Basutoland should ever be in-

cluded in the Union, your land and your National Council may be preserved to you.

“His Majesty is glad to be assured that the Basutos have been contented and prosperous under his protection under their present form of Government, and it is because he knew this and is anxious to secure the future welfare of his children that he is making provision for a continuance of your present position and of the same kind of Government as far as possible.

“His Majesty does not wish that there should be any immediate change, and no change will take place for some time, but he sees that, if South Africa is united, it will be desirable as well as necessary for the Basutos to be prepared some day to come under the same Government as the rest of South Africa. His Majesty therefore will make provision that your land shall be preserved to you, that the sale of liquor shall be prohibited, and that your National Council shall be retained whenever you come under the Government of United South Africa.

“Your Petition has accordingly received a favourable answer from His Majesty, and you may assure the Paramount Chief and the Basuto people that it is the purpose of His Majesty and of His Majesty’s Government, who are his advisers, that they should continue in the enjoyment of these privileges which they have hitherto possessed.

“CHIEFS,

“I have spoken these words as Secretary of State for the Colonies, in the name of His Majesty and on behalf of His Majesty’s Government.”







This brings the eventful story of the Basuto up to date. It remains for the future to determine whether they will become incorporated with one of the Colonies in the Union or otherwise ; whether their entity as an interesting tribe will be lost and with it the measure of independence for which they had craved and struggled.

## CHAPTER XXXI

The forces that operated towards settlement and progress:  
High Commissioners since 1884 and their policy: the  
agents of policy: the system: the Basuto character:  
missions and missionary effort

THE Basuto may be said scarcely to have got into their upward stride until they came under direct Imperial rule in 1884. Before that time they were either at war or struggling intermittently against laws and procedure not in keeping with their feelings and aspirations. The times were out of joint in so far that the most powerful factor in the healthy growth of a nation, viz. sympathy between subjects and rulers, was not exercised in such a way as to promote harmony of thought and action. It would be wrong to assume that the Cape Colonial Government was not sincere in its duty of affording to the tribe means and stimulation towards improvement. Unfortunately it failed to appreciate the sentiment of the people and, striving to accomplish a good end by repressive measures, not only miscarried but bequeathed a legacy of racial prejudice. The problem of future government was in fact intensified, seeing that the Basuto had learnt the art of successful opposition

which had rendered them vain and less amenable to restraint and guidance.

The forces which operated after Imperial Annexation in raising Basutoland to its present vigorous condition are fourfold.

In the first place the credit lies with a succession of illustrious High Commissioners to whom its destinies were committed. Sir Hercules Robinson (afterwards Lord Rosmead) laid the foundation of successful administration by his statesmanlike policy of giving the natives, who had been dragooned into surly acceptance of distasteful laws, relief from over-government, and of consigning them to the personal care of sympathetic officers who were let alone and encouraged to self-reliance at a time when little Imperial support stood behind them. That policy afforded the natives rest whilst they begat confidence in the good intentions of their new rulers. So long as no grievous mistakes were made or terrorism attempted it was almost sure to avail.

Lord Rosmead, who had another term of office in 1895-6, was followed as High Commissioner by Lord Loch, Lord Milner and the Earl of Selborne. Each of those statesmen in turn, appraising the patient constructive work they found in hand, placed a true value upon continuity of policy and gave generous support to those employed in carrying it out. The great result of their corporate stewardship was to keep Basutoland outside the region of party politics either in England or at the Cape, aiding it sincerely without fettering and allowing it to progress unnoticed.

Then, there followed a sequence of experienced Resident Commissioners. Public records testify that they honoured the trust reposed in them, proved themselves discreet in action, prompt in emergency and diligent students of the tribe's welfare.

Associated with them were the district Magistrates. Imbued with the best traditions, they loyally carried out the spirit of instructions, winning by their integrity and forbearance a high place in the affections of the people—so much so that the transfer of one of them from one district to another has almost invariably been signalized by opposition and appeal against removal. In general, the high influence gained over the natives by the Resident Commissioners and their staff which so much contributed to settlement arose from the assurance that their decisions in matters of justice sprang from clean motives and were final.

To sum up the first force: there has been for twenty-five years one policy, one aim, continuity of system and *esprit de corps*.

Secondly, the system lent itself to success. The predominant thought in the minds of those who were set the task of rebuilding the structure so much shattered by the Gun War was to enlist in the effort the co-operation of the natives themselves. That could only be done by endowing their leaders with certain power and giving them an interest in the conduct of their own affairs. The Regulations were designed with that object. Under them, while serious crime was reserved for the Magistrates and the right of appeal upheld, the settlement of all other tribal cases involving native law, so fruitful of irritation if

meddled with, was relegated to the Chiefs who thus relieved the Administration of work and odium. The system under the Cape Government of pressing minor cases into court and interfering with the allocation of land was abandoned.

The Chiefs were given duties, were subsidized and held up to public respect. As a rule they did not fail to justify confidence. When criminals were wanted or tax had to be collected they acted as a medium of communication with the people. In that way there existed a chain of responsibility from the Government through the Paramount Chief downwards to the smallest headman of a village. They did the entire Police work leaving the uniformed force drawn from their ranks little beyond the duty of carrying messages. That was a system they liked. It admitted of no oppression. It was certainly effective.

Thirdly, the character of the Basuto was a distinct force. No people could have survived the ordeal they passed through without possessing masculine qualities. Instinctively they were law-abiding. They were amenable to their Chiefs to whom they were devotedly attached, amenable to control by those whom they respected, intelligent, far-seeing, imaginative. Active by nature as all mountaineers are, more industrious than most native races, eager for education and advance, they had all the temperament of which promising nations are made. Pride of country often led to passionate outbursts which were nevertheless conspicuous for the absence as a rule of barbarous acts such as characterized other Kaffir races in their frenzy.

Their reputation for chivalry not infrequently won

for them toleration where other tribes would have gone down. Except in war they rarely harmed white people and no common man would knowingly lift his hand to injure a Chief or person in acknowledged authority. The author recalls a conversation with Masupha who had a sinister reputation. The old Chief related that during the Gun War a trooper of the Cape Mounted Rifles, being isolated from his comrades and surrounded by angry Basutos, lay behind an ant-heap resolved with the few cartridges left in his pouch to sell his life dearly. Masupha was so moved by the valour of the man that he called off his warriors hoping to rescue him. But he refused to surrender in spite of all overtures and therefore, as the Chief said, "we reluctantly had to kill him because he went on shooting."

Vanity played a great part in their life. They were vain of themselves for having beaten off invasion and successfully defied white armies. They are proud to-day and vain of appearance in clothes. No self-respecting man will receive a visitor or go on a visit without putting on his best. As a whole their character has been toned by the combination of strong elements from many tribes from whom the consolidator Moshesh gathered the best. Time after time when apparently off the balance they have righted themselves on the eve of ruin. To their mettle therefore may be attributed much of the good fortune they enjoy to-day.

Last but by no means least of the forces is Missionary influence. And this seems a fitting place to deal with missionary organization and effort with





REV. R. H. DYKE, WITH PUPIL TEACHERS OF THE TRAINING INSTITUTION, MORIJIA.



which Basutoland has been so deeply associated. The story of it has been given in various Memoirs, particularly in those of Messrs. Arbousset, Ellenberger, Dyke, Casalis, Christol, Coillard, Mabilie and Widdicombe. But, interesting as they are, they cannot do justice to work quickened in other hands, the product of which is rarely seen by the founders.

The pioneers and principal agents as stated in previous chapters of this book were the French Protestant Society. It will be remembered that their introduction took place in 1833 under romantic circumstances through the medium of a half-caste hunter who had been converted and found it part of his Christian duty to pilot them to the wild Basuto mountains, where they were welcomed by the Chief Moshesh then already alive to the necessity of enlightenment for the nation he was roughly shaping. Their early reminiscences of the unknown country and inhabitants north of the Orange River are most instructive. But for them and their explorations we should have few traces of the primeval conditions of the people then found. Fortunately it was part of the system to furnish for the guidance of the parent Society in France full narratives of their life and experiences. Those documents have aided the author of this book and other writers upon the subject in gleaning valuable information not obtainable from any other source.

The difficulties, let alone perils, that confronted them from the outset were supreme. It was true they had the patronage if not the friendship of Moshesh ; he was then all-powerful ; for the great majority however it was a matter of sufferance. The wilder

Chiefs mistrusted white men, were shy of strangers and disinclined to tolerate any new ideas calculated to moderate passions or soften martial instincts upon the maintenance of which their existence depended. Still more bitter antagonism came from the tribal seers—the witch-doctors—whose vocations, lucrative and powerful, were seriously threatened by the intrusion of a religion of which they were not the high priests. Heathenism of course was rampant and, alongside, a vast amount of superstition saturated the community. Before the seeds of Christianity could be sown, all these barriers had to be gently assaulted by appealing to the selfish side of the barbarians in respect of advantages to be gained by adoption of moral laws and civilized usages. But no such appeals could have availed were they not associated with fine personal example ; in that alone lay the secret of influence and the conquest of prejudice.

It was a long uphill struggle, not only against barbarism. European settlers viewed with no favour this new element that could stand for right between them and their savage foes from whom land had to be wrenched. They battled with the missionaries accusing them of inspiring, even inciting, the natives to resist the white man's domination. Nor were some of the British Governors at the Cape at times less kindly disposed. Sir Harry Smith eulogized and condemned them in turns. He acknowledged they were actuated by the purest and best motives but thought that the situation in which they were placed prevented their forming such an impartial judgment as enabled them to do justice to conflicting parties ; and then wrote a

violent letter describing them as “those blessed missionaries.” Even the wrath of Her Majesty’s Government was drawn upon them because they rightfully made their voices heard in removing misunderstandings. In a despatch of March 21, 1852, the Secretary of State wrote :—

“If the missionaries continue to act in the character of political advisers and agents of Native Chiefs, they must not be surprised if the responsibility for the conduct of those Chiefs, and the consequences of such responsibility, attach on themselves.”

Sir George Cathcart went further and charged them with fabrication. In a letter of September 2, 1852, he wrote to the British Resident :—

“I have received several long and elaborate treatises on political subjects professing to convey the sentiments of Native Chiefs, couched in phraseology which I have ascertained from my interpreters is incapable of being rendered in the languages of those whose sentiments they profess to convey.

“These, it is manifest, are the productions of certain missionaries who are resident and possibly influential in connection with the said Native Chiefs.

“These voluminous documents are generally closed by a cross superscribed as the Chief X his mark.

“I read these essays with much interest, but in respect to their value as official documents I can only consider them in the light of political frauds.”

It was an unmerited charge, which the Governor afterwards withdrew when he visited Basutoland and

discovered how much he had been misled and how powerless the Basuto were to present their own case. Their correspondence on behalf of the Basuto will bear the light of day and will show that if the language of native letters transcribed by them was not characteristically metaphorical it represented what the Chiefs desired to say ; and if in separate letters their feelings sometimes carried them away they were the feelings of men animated by a high sense of duty to expose the truth.

So their path was not strewn with roses. Zealous and enterprising, they gradually re-erected churches and schools with little means beyond those which the natives subscribed. Then, when wars thundered at their doors, property and converts were swept away, their stations wrecked and the work shattered. Undaunted, they rebuilt and re-established, only to be rooted out again and again until finally banished in a body under circumstances of peculiar hardship from the land of their adoption. It was only after the Convention of Aliwal North in 1869—thirty-six years subsequent to their advent—that they could really settle down without fear of molestation. From that date the record of labour is unbroken, though chequered by war and disturbance.

The Gun War of 1880–82 brought them into unhappy conflict with the Cape Government and High Commissioner. They had warmly espoused the cause of the Basuto by remonstrating individually and collectively in Petitions to the Secretary of State and others against the harsh policy of disarming, on the ground that, apart from its unreasonableness, it was

certain to eventuate in war. Matters came to a head when M. Mabile, superintendent of the French Mission at Morija, refused the use of his printing press as a vehicle for publishing the Disarmament Proclamation for distribution in the Sesuto language. Sir Gordon Sprigg appealed beyond him to the mission body in Conference, which replied :—

“ We cannot but approve and confirm the action of M. Mabile, who, in obedience to the dictates of his conscience, objected to contribute his assistance in bringing into immediate execution a measure which seems to compromise the welfare of a people among whom we have so long laboured and endeavoured to lead in the paths of peace—a measure which it is evident will alienate them from a Government we have taught them to respect and trust. We also lament that, by this present action of the Government towards the Basutos, the prestige of the British name may be lowered among the interior tribes of Africa, a circumstance most deplorable, for our earnest desire has been to see the ægis of England’s rule extended among those tribes.”

Sir Bartle Frere in his loyal support of the Cape Government was led to believe that the defiant spirit of the Basuto was directly fostered by the example of the resident missionaries whom he bade beware lest, in the fervour of their desire to promote good, they overlooked the danger of casting about words and ideas which might act as firebrands amongst the inflammable materials abounding ; should active resist-

ance be made, he said, the blame would rest less with the rebellious Basuto than with those who threw their great influence into the scale of resistance to lawful authority.

From study of the voluminous correspondence on the subject and from knowledge derived during many years' residence in Basutoland, the author feels justified in stating that in his opinion no act of the missionary body encouraged the Basuto to fight against disarmament. They fought from their own convictions regardless of counsel and fearing the worst. Every missionary on the contrary knew that a war of such dimensions with a British Colony must not only arrest religious work but give it a serious set-back. Where they did help the natives, and properly, was in furthering their constitutional representations against an obnoxious Act of repression uncalled for by any misbehaviour.

The appended statistics show the growth of the French Protestant work during fifty years ending in 1907.

	YEARS			
	1857	1883	1898	1907
Parishes . . . . .	10	12	17	27
Out-stations . . . . .	0	69	152	210
European-ordained Missionaries	11	17	17	16
Native Pastors . . . . .	0	0	7	13
Evangelists . . . . .	0	86	161	221
Communicants . . . . .	1,381	4,424	10,098	17,160
Catechumens (under instruction)	407	1,162	5,169	7,298
Schools . . . . .	19	42	150	233
Native Teachers . . . . .	0	51	200	298
Scholars . . . . .	726	2,180	9,000	11,134
School Fees (paid by Scholars)	(Not reported)			£2,300
Church Contributions (Native)	—	?	£2,118	£4,420



In outline the Society organization, modified to suit local conditions, corresponds with the Reformed or Presbyterian Churches of Europe. In order to bring themselves into touch with native thought, parish Consistories where all members can make their desires known, Conferences in which native pastors share, and Synods resembling the General Assembly in Scotland are held under Presidents never elected twice in succession. By such means the voice of Christian converts is heard and uniformity of practice so essential in matters of discipline is preserved.

In 1868 a Normal School for training teachers was established at Morija ; in 1871 a Training Institution for girls ; in 1882 a Bible School for preparation of Evangelists. All of these had origin through the energy principally of an able and versatile enthusiast M. Mabile who also studied the art of printing and set up a press where the first Bible was printed after moulding Sesuto into a written language. One of their best developments was the foundation in 1880 of an Industrial School at Quthing for education of native lads in trades and handicrafts. By the death of M. Mabile in 1894 the Society sustained the loss of a capable leader. But he left many worthy colleagues engaged in spheres of strenuous work, particularly amongst others who succeeded him at Morija the Revs. Henry Dyke, Casalis, Dieterlin and Jacottet. No mission field could claim a more devoted brotherhood.

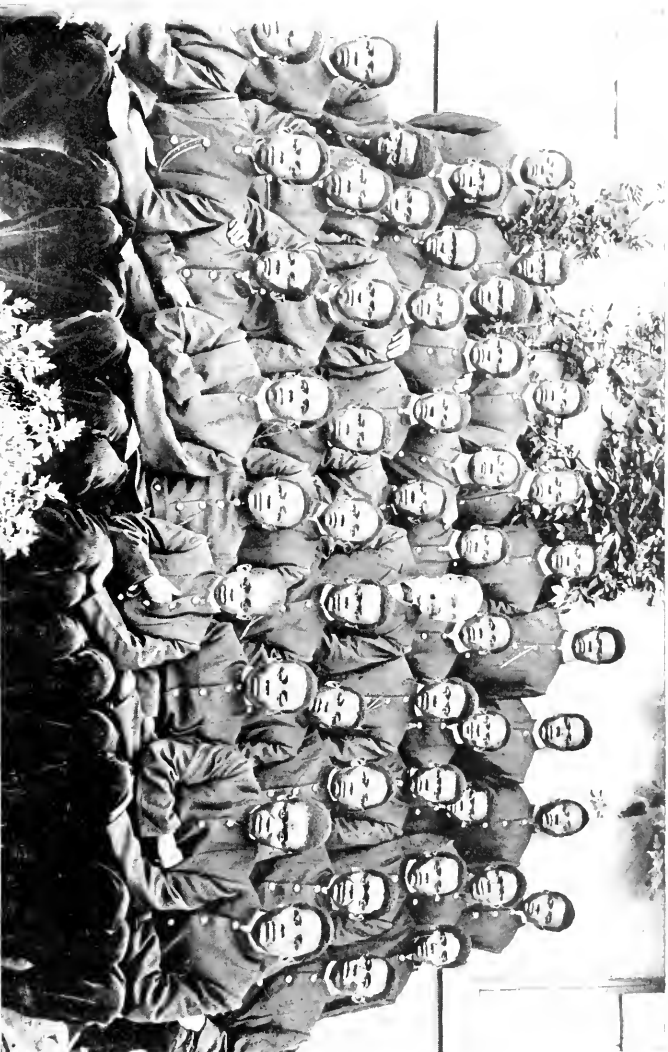
Addressing a large gathering of delegates and Basuto assembled last year to celebrate the 75th anniversary, Mr. Sloley the Resident Commissioner expressed him-

self in words that all persons conversant with the facts will endorse.

“It was,” he said, “a unique spectacle in South Africa ; a native tribe dwelling in peace and prosperity under their own Chiefs and their own laws ; a people advancing in civilization and having everywhere the advantages of religious and secular education freely offered to them. That this is so was largely due to the efforts of the Paris Evangelical Mission. There were other contributing causes. The Government of the late Queen had fostered the people. Much credit also belonged to the moderation and wisdom of the Chiefs under whom they had lived for four generations, and praise was due to the natural common sense of the people. But if one influence more than another had helped the Basuto it was the missionary influence which begun seventy-five years ago. The results achieved were such as encouraged missionaries and laymen alike to do their plain duty and to trust the future of the native people.”

What has been said above as regards the good effect of the French missions upon the lives of the people applies in equal degree to other Societies established later on a less extensive scale. In 1875, the English Church through generous aid granted by the Society for Propagation of the Gospel for the first time settled in Basutoland ; but its work, though effective, has had narrow limits ; similarly with a Roman Catholic mission founded at Roma in 1864.

These remarks do not pretend to give more than



REV. S. S. DORNAN AND SECOND CLASS OF THE TRAINING INSTITUTION.



the barest outline of a great effort. As one within whose office it has fallen through a long experience to become acquainted with a wide latitude of mission and educational work, the author feels it a duty to state how impossible it was not to be struck by the piety and intensity of conviction which fortified the missionaries against the odds and impediments they met. If their zeal occasionally outran discretion the cause was good. They were the heralds of discovery and civilization when the maps of Africa were bare and millions thirsted for enlightenment. Renouncing life amongst their own kindred they settled, resided and laboured amongst alien races, ever ready if necessary to voice oppression and to champion the oppressed when justice demanded it.

Some there are who assert the native in his raw state to be a finer man than the semi-civilized convert. That is the view of utilitarians and lovers of the picturesque. It is an ascertained fact that missionary effort has aided British policy in fostering the natural advancement of native races. The advance has turned to their material advantage. In addition they have been taught the ethics of right and wrong together with a code of civilized morality which have had the effect of moulding savage character and of lifting the African world to a higher standard.

## CHAPTER XXXII

### Conclusion

IT remains in the closing chapter to offer a few observations suggested by what has been written in the previous pages and, without venturing on prophecy, to draw some conclusions.

The Basuto are what their environment has made them in the course of a career unique in the history of Kaffir races as well for its vicissitudes as for its consummation in respect of the comparatively high status they have acquired. Their position amongst the tribes to-day is somewhat remarkable. A crave for semi-independence has fixed them in a setting of their own design, that is to say, under the ægis of a paternal Government by whom they desire to be protected and guided along the road to development but not to be overridden by repugnant laws suitable for people either wholly civilized or wholly barbarian. The British Government has magnanimously met them, for a number of years jealously guarding their rights and controlling them by a method of sympathetic administration. They are allowed a large share in the conduct

of their own affairs which, so far as the tribe is concerned, are regulated by native law and custom whilst their feelings and aspirations are made articulate through a non-elective National Council.

It has answered, is answering, very well but is not in keeping with the rest of native South Africa where under an Act of Union now maturing the ultimate aim must be to bring all native affairs into line with a common policy. Admittedly they have advanced to such a stage as precludes their being bracketed in any advantageous way with the backward tribes in other parts. Basutoland requires no money help, its financial condition being so sound that most countries in the world may envy it. It has a balance in the bank of £150,000 without any debt or liabilities whatever. This wealth has been won principally by savings from direct dues paid as tribute to those who protect them in the enjoyment of their land, and from whom they look for continued guardianship.

To say the country was rich or wealthy in the ordinary sense would be a misnomer seeing that its annual revenue is reckoned up in a few tens of thousands. Yet it has the truest form of riches, viz. that which lies in a multitude of contented taxpayers, who tender their dues of their own accord, and in the individual prosperity of the masses who possess all they require. There is no pauperism. The burden of taxation is easily borne and, as the product is spent entirely on the country, no dissatisfaction arises. They are not exploited by the State but are shown the way to prosper, aided only by capital withdrawn from their own funds when it can be usefully employed to

develop lines of work from which flow industry and betterment.

The tendency is to bring out the best side of a naturally industrious people. The imports of this small community approximate annually to £250,000, almost entirely for clothing and goods manufactured in the United Kingdom; the exports to £250,000 of agricultural produce dispersed for consumption in South Africa. No white population would produce as much in the space available. But an export of still greater value not to be calculated in money is the output of labour. In 1908, 78,000 men went abroad at intervals for work, not all absent at the same time. That labour alone is a great asset of wealth in which other States share. It means annually a lot of money in wages taken back to Basutoland for expenditure mostly on British manufactures. So that, as a granary, as a mart of mercantile exchange, and as a depot for unskilled labour Basutoland under present conditions is an economic factor in South Africa.

The Basuto may therefore be said to have individualized. They have displayed readiness to submit to authority, to make any reasonable sacrifices so long as they may remain subjects under direct Imperial rule. That is their heartfelt desire. What they fear is the prospect of becoming submerged by incorporation under an Act of South African Union with the loss of tribal entity and interruption of the national evolution on their own lines now in process. This fear is not conceived in any spirit of disrespect to a Federated Parliament. They feel they are safer in the hands of His Majesty's Government than if they



become liable to the caprice of South African party politics and that is why they seek some substantial guarantee for the fulfilment of promises made to them. None can blame them for the desire or the effort. Their experience of early years reminds them of honourable pledges lightly forfeited.

If in the scheme of Unification Basutoland became absorbed it would fall at once under control of Responsible Ministers representative of all the Colonies who would in all probability shape their policy according to South African ideas, which might or might not conflict with Imperial ideas and obligations. That is the reason the petitioners in the document lately presented to the King, pray that their minds may be made easy against annexation to one of the Colonies lest it result in the loss of national existence, of their cherished native laws and of their land.

In considering the matter of Union we must bear in mind how much it may affect the land question. The social and economic life of these native people is founded on the communal ownership of land, a system to which Europeans are so unaccustomed that they chafe when prevented from purchasing or otherwise gaining occupation. As at present, the whole territory is held in trust for the tribe by the Resident Commissioner without any power of alienation on his part or that of the Paramount Chief, though of course it may be interpreted that the King enjoys that power over a part of his dominions. Under that system of communal tenure no titles are granted, so that it has been comparatively easy for the Government and people in unity to refuse the host of applications for con-

cessions from persons and syndicates desirous of exploiting the land for its agricultural value and for its supposed mineral resources.

Any territory closed for prospectors is generally credited with having hidden mineral wealth. There is no proof of the existence of such in Basutoland. But the very fact of its being reserved has led and may lead again to public clamour that it should be unblocked. It is a question which the Federal Government will have difficulty in meeting, for the reason that the Basuto have since 1884 persistently implored the Imperial Government to resist it ; and the Government has given them pledges out of number that so long as they behave themselves properly their wishes will be respected. It is much to be hoped that those pledges will not be violated. A view held by many colonists on the subject is that expressed by a Belgian statesman relative to Congo exploitation :—

“It is not right, on the plea of a misplaced respect for the rights of the occupants, that industrious races should abandon rich territories to uncultivated and incapable native populations who will never turn them to account. To deny this right to civilized peoples would be to suppress all possibility of human progress. . . . For a civilized nation it is not merely a right but a duty to turn to account those lands whose value is wilfully ignored by a careless and primitive people.”

That is a hard materialistic doctrine to which probably a majority of interested persons will consent

without necessarily approving. Enough has been said to show that it does not apply closely to the Basuto who are not insensible to the value of their land and who turn it to good account. But the inward thought of most men called upon to give judgment would be that it is better to honour a national pledge given to weaker members who are trustful and unable to exact it than to win a gold-mine by breach of faith.

In the event of the quest for minerals being permitted and a discovery or reputed discovery being made, nothing could prevent the country being inundated with fortune-hunters whose invasion and operations must lead to a break-up of the existing land and tribal systems. That would be a misfortune; for although the introduction of a European population might result in more rapid intellectual advance of the people, there is every reason to think that it would not be so wholesome as the progress now being made by quiet steps. Experience has proved that a consequence of the association of raw natives for periods at the gold and diamond mines has been enlargement of ideas at the expense of morals. Thrown largely with the lower white classes there they have readily assimilated the choice vices of civilization and cultivated a taste for strong drink.

Moreover, it is unthinkable that the presence of a large white community in Basutoland employed at mining would admit of a system of administration under which chieftainship could be recognized as it now is. A change would be imperative. But the Basuto are steeped in its traditions, desiring neither to be released from nor to alter it. The votaries of its suppression

are with little exception influenced more by greed for land or the scramble for minerals, which it prevents their gratifying, than by any desire to promote the welfare of the natives. They are prepared loosely to pull down an existing order without having any effective substitute. There are of course drawbacks to chieftainship as to every other social system. Yet every country not decaying has its upper and lower grades whose existence side by side make for efficiency.

In weighing the prospect of Union which may involve the transfer of their country, the Basuto petitioners clearly express the hope that His Majesty's Government before assenting to the Act shall grant them a Charter or other safeguard of an inviolable character embodying certain rights and reservations—something more stable than vague promises in a despatch. The points on which safeguards are sought embrace :—

- Non-alienation or exploitation of land ;
- Restrictions against importation and sale of liquor ;
- Retention of National Council ;
- Sudden change of laws.

Given some security for the satisfaction of their strong desires in these matters, territorial transfer may be made without causing agitation or disturbance. All history stands for the fact that a form of government which does not rest upon the sympathies of the people is doomed to failure. In this case we have a coloured race of character and promise asking very little, requiring no financial support, and ready to be easily satisfied if their few supplications are granted. Fifty years ago Moshesh said to Sir George Grey :—

“If you will only rule my people through me there will be no trouble. They will follow me and I will follow you.”

It meant that they might be led with a light string, and will mean the same to-day if the policy is continued of utilizing the traditional leaders of the tribe in its government.

Experience of the last decade or two in African native affairs affords us useful object-lessons. One lesson to be learnt is that it is unwise to wander off into the bye-paths of experiment with coloured races who are capable of being moved to indiscretion or madness by violent changes, even when contemplated for their betterment. The future relations between white and black promise to be governed by new ideas. Public opinion in the Colonies has lately broadened to a remarkable degree. Leaders of thought have abandoned the old conception of regarding subject races as mercantile objects and have come to recognize that equitable treatment and respect for inherent rights are not only the duty of those who have imposed their will upon others but are the surest means of satisfactorily developing the weaker in a way calculated to serve the cause of dominion prosperity.

The native races can be brought into the general polity and contribute their share to the commonwealth in proportion as their administration is in harmony with their evolution. But they are maturing under conditions totally different to those which governed the Western world in its rise from mediævalism. They have to meet and assimilate as best they can the

advanced twentieth-century civilization without passing through the stages that lie between it and their own backwardness. That subjects them to a very severe test. It is folly therefore to impose upon them laws and traditions that have grown slowly into Europe in the course of several hundred years or to expect probationers who have not been through the school of training to adapt themselves happily to modern conventions.

They may be expected to advance at as fast a rate as is healthy for them. But, though it may be well to discountenance, or abolish if necessary, vicious customs, they cannot be made Christian or civilized by legislation. It would be a fatal error to encourage or set a pace suitable to the standard of a few who have shown capacity for higher education. The pace of the mass must and ought to be slow. Booker Washingtons are few and can go on their own. High religion and institutions they are unfit to receive and understand may, if pressed upon them, be degraded in their hands and produce regrettable results.

The bulk of the people are content to be governed and guided, to be allowed to live in their own quiet way so long as they are not hunted by ardent reformers. The best reforms will come from within as the outcome of intellectual growth. If old traditions are permitted to decay, new ideas and aspirations will in the consistent order of things slip into their place to become popular. Similarly, as the masses are utterly unsuited for higher education, the system for a long time to come should be to give public instruction of such a character only as will fit them for the common needs



SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE AFFAIRS COMMISSION, 1904-5.

1. Sir George L. Leake (London) 2. Mr. F. R. Thompson (Orange River Colony).  
3. The Hon. M. Campbell (Natal) 4. Mr. S. O. Sammon (Cape Colony).  
5. Mr. J. A. H. Hamilton (Transvaal) 6. Mr. J. M. de la Harpe (Orange River Colony).  
7. Mr. J. A. H. Hamilton (Transvaal) 8. Mr. H. C. Stoley (Bastardland).  
9. Mr. J. A. H. Hamilton (Transvaal) 10. Mr. H. C. Stoley (Bastardland).  
11. Mr. J. A. H. Hamilton (Transvaal) 12. Mr. H. M. Taberner (Secretary).  
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of their peasant life. The true perspective of evolution may be lost by misguided attempts to raise them unduly to a higher platform.

It would be rash even with a personal knowledge of the past and of the present conditions to speculate on the future. What the Basuto want above all is a sense of security in their possessions and permanence of control by a Government they confide in. If not perplexed and frightened by changes they will accommodate themselves to the exercise of any judicious restraint. The strongest asset of our rule has been the consciousness all have felt that a body of disinterested officers have dwelt amongst them for the purpose of administering clean justice and removing peacefully all possible impediments in the way of advance towards civilization. Their tribal system has been buttressed up because, together with chieftainship, it provided a useful discipline required by untutored people. It is a great power for good—the corner-stone on which government rests. Should it be recklessly disturbed before in the fitness of time another system is ready to replace it effectively, the foundations of our rule will be undermined.

Basutoland may be considered a problem requiring delicate handling. Of a nation that has weathered successfully so many storms much may be expected if the policy of sympathy and patience is not withdrawn.



## APPENDIX

### EDUCATION

WHEN Basutoland was annexed to the Cape Colony in 1871 the system of that Colony followed by which the Government supported by grants-in-aid to mission societies the schools established by them. Under Imperial control this useful system was continued. There have never been any Government schools and only one of an undenominational character. Each year the Assistant Commissioners inspect the schools and until 1908 they came periodically under supervision of an Inspector of the Cape Education Department.

The education in general is of an elementary character suitable to a people of agricultural pursuits whose children are withdrawn early for labour in the field. But, for those who desire it, there are available two Industrial Schools where technical instruction is given in various trades, and a Normal School at Morija in which students can be prepared for the Cape University higher examinations. In addition, the Government has for many years sent selected youths for training to the Lovedale Institute, Zonnebloem College, Grahamstown Kaffir Institution and the Trappists' Institute in Natal.

In 1906, Mr. Sargent, education adviser to the High Commissioner, after an exhaustive investigation, issued a valuable report with recommendations. Arising out of that, an Education Department has now been established in the territory. The object is to bring the whole system under entire local control with the view of ascertaining and developing the particular form of education most likely to produce beneficial results. It is

recognized as a policy that the kind of learning suitable for European children by no means adapts itself to the wants and capacity of natives who are in a transition state, requiring to be brought up on lines suitable to their changing conditions with due regard to the future occupations open to them.

In 1907 there were 246 schools and the sum expended on native education amounted to £14,000. The following return showing the Mission distribution is taken from the census of 1904.

#### EDUCATIONAL RETURN (CENSUS, 1904)

Mission.	Return of all Scholars who attended Basuto-land Schools during any part of the School Week preceding 15th April, 1904.						Average attendance during School Week ending 15th April, 1904.			
	Under 5 Years.		5 and under 15 Years.		15 Years and Upwards.		Total.	Average.		Total Average.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.		M.	F.	
P. E. M. S. . . . .	—	—	4,932	3,833	1,838	1,336	11,939	4,701'8	3,746'3	8,448'1
Church of England . . . . .	27	15	461	347	243	133	1,226	617	444	1,061
African Methodist Epis. . . . .	—	1	133	243	80	41	498	147'7	163	310'7
Roman Catholic . . . . .	4	14	155	353	60	137	723	192'6	429'6	622'2
Undenominational . . . . .	—	—	2	2	18	4	26	19	5'6	24'6
7th Day Adventist . . . . .	—	—	10	15	—	—	25	6	12	18
Total . . . . .	31	30	5,693	4,793	2,239	1,651	14,437	5,684'1	4,800'5	10,484'6

### THE SESUTO LANGUAGE

*By the kind permission of the Rev. E. Jacottet of the French Protestant Evangelical Mission Society the following note is abridged from his works.<sup>1</sup>*

The se-Suto language which this sketch illustrates is a member of a most important family of languages, generally known as the *Bantu languages*, which are spoken over nearly the whole of Africa south of the Equator. They present strongly marked and numerous affinities of grammar and vocabulary; they are very closely allied to each other and form a rich and compact family.

<sup>1</sup> (1) "An Elementary Sketch of Sesuto Grammar." Morija, 1893.

(2) "A Practical Method to learn Sesuto." Morija, 1906.

Their most peculiar feature is the *Prefix-pronominal Concord*, which will be explained below. They are therefore to be classed among the *Prefix-pronominal* group of languages. Most European languages belong to the *Suffix-pronominal* group.

It is impossible at the present time to define and class the different subdivisions of the Bantu family, as by far the greater number of these languages are still utterly unknown to us. It will be sufficient for our purpose to say that in *South Africa proper* (south of the Zambesi) they may be (as far as our knowledge goes) reduced to three sub-classes:—

1. *The Kaffir* or *Zulu* sub-class; 2. *the se-Chuana* or *se-Suto* sub-class; and 3. *the Herero and otj-Ambo* sub-class.

The *Kaffir* dialects are spoken by tribes residing on the East Coast, east and south of the Lebombo Mountains and the Drakensberg as far south as Port Elizabeth; the *se-Chuana* or *se-Suto* dialects are spoken in the interior, from the Orange River to the Zambesi; the *Herero* and *otj-Ambo* dialects are spoken by tribes residing on the West Coast, from the Cunene River as far south as Namaqualand.

The dialects of the *se-Chuana* sub-class to which *se-Suto* belongs are rather numerous. They may be divided into two principal branches, the *Western Branch* and the *Eastern Branch*. The *Western Branch* or *se-Chuana proper* consists of dialects spoken all over Bechuanaland, the western half of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State; *se-Rolong* and *se-Tlaping* are the most important dialects of this branch. Both are reduced to writing, possessing grammars and vocabularies and a rather important missionary literature. The Western dialects are distinguished from the Eastern dialects in being more rough and guttural. They seem more primitive in many of their forms and have retained a distinct prefix (*lo*) which has been lost in the Eastern dialects. They may be admitted to present an older form of the language.

The *Eastern* or *se-Suto Branch* consists of dialects spoken all over the eastern part of the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Basutoland (also, through immigration, a large part of Griqualand East and many towns of the Colony).

This branch is subdivided into a *Northern* (in the Transvaal) and a *Southern Sub-branch* (in Basutoland and the Free State).

The leading dialect of the *Northern Sub-branch* is the *se-Peli*, and of the *Southern Sub-branch* the leading dialect is *se-Suto proper*. Both are reduced to writing. They differ from each other much more than *se-Rolong* differs from *se-Tlaping*. The *se-Peli* is undoubtedly more primitive and pure than the *se-Suto*. The contact with Zulu-speaking tribes has exercised a marked influence over *se-Suto*, making it softer and less guttural, and introducing into it the *click* sound, which is unknown to all other *se-Chuana* dialects.

The *se-Suto* is spoken by at least 400,000 souls either in Basutoland or outside of it, but it is understood by many more, even by tribes so far north as the *ba-Rotse* kingdom on the Upper Zambesi. It possesses a comparatively very extensive missionary literature which is used also by other *se-Chuana*-speaking tribes. Altogether, the people speaking the *se-Chuana* and *se-Suto* dialect may be about 1,500,000 or 2,000,000.

## I. ORTHOGRAPHY

(a) **The Vowels.** The vowels *a*, *i*, *u* have their full sound as in Italian; e.g.: *ho baba*, to be bitter; *ho sila*, to grind; *ho fula*, to graze.

*e* is pronounced mostly as a slightly closed *e* (as in *able*); e.g.: *sefate*, tree; *leseli*, light. But in many words it has an open sound (as in *spare*); e.g.: *ho ema*, to stand; *ho laela*, to give orders to.

*o* is likewise pronounced mostly as a slightly closed *o* (as in *no*); e.g.: *motse*, village; *bosiu*, night. But in many words it has an open sound (as *ou* in *ought*); e.g.: *ho bona*, to see; *poho*, bull. Sometimes it represents a sound similar to *u* (as in *put*); e.g.: *pelo*, heart; *bohloko*, pain.

In printed books the different *e* and *o* are written exactly in the same way; one has therefore to learn the true pronunciation by the ear. It is only in some cases, when it is necessary to mark the difference between two otherwise homophonous words, that the different *e* and *o* are distinguished in print.

In such cases *close o* is written *ō*, and *open e*, *è*. E.g.: *ho bōpa*, to mould; *ho bopa*, to sulk; *ho tšèla*, to pour (water); *ho tšela*, to cross, etc.

(b) **The Consonants.** The Sesuto consonantal sounds are 31.

They are written so:—

- b* pronounced as in English: *ho bona*, to see
- p*       "                       "       *ho pata*, to hide
- f*       "                       "       *ho fepa*, to feed
- ph* is an aspirated *p* (not *f*): *ho phela*, to live
- m* pronounced as in English: *ho mamela*, to listen to
- l*       "                       "       before *a, e, o*: *ho lala*, to lie down ;  
          *leleme*, tongue
- l*       pronounced nearly as *d* before *i* and *u*: *ho lila*, to plaster ;  
          *ho lula*, to sit down
- t*       pronounced as in English: *ho tata*, to hurry on
- r*       "                       "       *ho ruta*, to teach
- th* is an aspirated *t* (not English *th*): *ho thaba*, to rejoice
- n*       pronounced as in English: *ho nea*, to give
- k*       "                       "       *ho kata*, to fill (a hole)
- h*       "                       "       *ho haka*, to build
- kh* is a *k* followed by *ch* as in *loch*: *khomo*, ox
- ng* pronounced as in *singing*: *ho ngola*, to write
- ts*       "                       "       *cats*: *ho tseba*, to know
- s*       "                       "       English: *ho sesa*, to swim
- tš* is an aspirated *ts*: *ho tšoha*, to be frightened
- j*       pronounced as a very slight English *j*: *ho ja*, to eat
- tj* is the strong sound of *j*: *sefatjana*, a little tree
- sh* pronounced as in English: *ho shapa*, to beat
- ch*       "                       "       "       *ho chaba*, to rise (of the sun)
- ny* is *n* followed by *y* (as in *onion*): *ho nyala*, to marry
- bj* is *b* followed by French *j* (very rare): *ho bjabjaretsa*, to break  
          completely
- pj* is *p* followed by French *j*: *pjemppjete*, a kind of bird
- fsh* is *f* followed by *sh*: *ho bofshoa*, to be inspanned
- psh* is *p* followed by *sh*: *ho pshatla*, to break to pieces
- hl* pronounced like Welsh *ll*: *ho hlaba*, to stab
- tl* is *t* followed by *l*: *ho tla*, to come
- tlh* is an aspirated *tl*: *ho itlhaba*, to stab oneself
- q* is a click (the so-called cerebral click): *ho qala*, to  
          begin

*qh* is an aspirated *q* : *ho qhala*, to scatter

*ng* is the nasal pronunciation of the same click : *ho ngosa*, to accuse

Two *ll* are pronounced as *l + l* ; e.g. : *ho lla*, to cry ; if the two *ll* stand before an *i* or *u*, the second *l* is pronounced often nearly as *d*, the first one keeping its full *l* sound. E.g. : *Molo-polli*, Redeemer ; *'muelli*, advocate.

Double *m* and *n* are written *mm* or *nn* in the middle of a word ; both *m* or *n* are to be sounded ; e.g. : *monna*, man ; *hammoho*, together. At the beginning of a word they are written *'m*, *'n* (*m* or *n* preceded by an apostrophe), but pronounced *mm*, *nn* ; e.g. : *kea 'mona* (= *mmona*), I see him ; *ua 'nea* (= *nnca*), you give me.

Before other consonants *m* (which can only stand before the labials *p* and *ph*) and *n* are vocalised, that is they form syllables by themselves, as if they were followed by a vowel. E.g. : *mpho*, gift ; *ntoa*, war.

*o* (and in a very few cases *u*) before *a*, *e*, *i*, has often the same sound as the English *w*, forming but one syllable with the following vowel. E.g. : *ho noa*, to drink ; *ho shoa*, to die.

In a very few words initial *e* before a vowel has a semi-consonantal sound, like a very slight *y* ; e.g. : *ho ea*, to go ; *eena*, he, etc.

*Obs.* As may be seen, Sesuto orthography is not always consistent and it is easy to criticise it. It is nevertheless able to distinguish all sounds (at least consonantal), all that is really required in any orthographical system.

A conference of the delegates of the different missions, including educated natives, has lately agreed upon a uniform orthography, which is followed in this book. As it has received the official sanction of Government, no more changes will be henceforth introduced.

In books printed before May 1906, the sound now written *j* (*ho ja*, to eat) was written *y* (*ho ya*) ; and *u* and *o* were used to represent the English *w*, whereas now *o* alone is used in this case (*ho shoa*, to die, was written *ho shua* ; *ho tsoana*, to be like, was written *ho tšwana*, etc.)

A simplification has thus been introduced which ought to be welcomed.

(c) **Syllables and Accent.** All syllables end in a vowel, or in the nasal sound *ng* (at the end of a word), never in any consonantal sound.



E.g. : *mo-e-ti*, traveller ; *ke noe-le*, I have drunk ; *tsa-ma-eang*, go away !

*m* or *n* before a consonant forms a syllable by itself. E.g. : *n-toa*, war ; *le m-po-ne*, you have seen me.

The accent rests always on the penult, or on the last syllable when it ends in *ng*. E.g. : *ho rata*, to love ; *ratang*, let you love ; *ntoa*, war ; *ntoeng*, in the war.

## II. THE GRAMMATICAL CONCORD

The whole grammatical structure of Sesuto is, in reality, very simple ; but as it is very different from all that Europeans are accustomed to, it seems exceedingly difficult and complicated at first sight.

A short explanation of it will likely be found useful and convenient at the very beginning. It will allow the student to understand much which would otherwise appear very puzzling.

All the grammatical concord of Sesuto (called by some Grammarians the *Euphonic Concord*) is based upon the structure of the Nouns.

All Sesuto nouns are divided into 7 different classes, according to the **prefix** each of them assumes. There is a special plural prefix corresponding to each singular prefix.

It will be seen thus that nouns do not change at the end, or assume *suffixes* (as in European languages), to form their plural ; it is the beginning of the word (the prefix) which is changed.

E.g. : in the noun **sefate**, a tree, the syllable *se* is the prefix ; *sefate* forms the plural **lifate**, trees, in replacing the singular prefix *se* by the plural prefix *li*. Now, all words (pronouns, adjectives, verbs) entering into grammatical concord with *sefate*, or *lifate*, must be preceded by prefixes (or pronouns) which reproduce more or less closely the nominal prefixes *se* or *li*.

So in the sentence : **sefate sa ka se settle se remiloe**, my fine tree has been cut (lit. : tree that of me the fine one it has been cut), the prefix *se* of the noun *sefate* reappears before the possessive pronoun *ka*, mine (*sa ka*), before the adjective *tle*, fine (*se settle*), and before the verb *remiloe*, has been cut (*se remiloe*).

If we put the same sentence in the plural: *lifate tsa ka tse ntle li remiloe*, my fine trees have been cut, we note that likewise the prefix *li* of the noun *lifate*, or its modified form *tse*, reappears before all the words in grammatical concord with the noun *lifate*.

This principle of grammatical concord, strange as it may appear at first sight, is very simple, and only some attention is required from the student to enable him to master it quickly.

We must always remember that, whereas in English as in other European languages grammatical inflections are marked by *suffixes*, they are in Sesuto marked by *prefixes*; the words change not at the end but at the beginning.

Attention will have to be paid to this fact in using a dictionary; so, e.g., the word *lifate*, trees, will not be found under *l*, but under *s*, as its form in the singular is *sefate*, a tree.

For the sake of convenience, we subjoin a table of the different classes of the nouns, both singular and plural, with their respective nominal prefixes.

	Sing. :		Plur. :	
	Pref.	Nouns.	Pref.	Nouns.
1st cl.	<b>mo</b>	<b>monna</b> , man	<b>ba</b>	<b>banna</b> , men
2nd cl.	<b>mo</b>	<b>mo<del>tse</del></b> , village	<b>me</b>	<b>me<del>tse</del></b> , villages
3rd cl.	<b>le</b>	<b>letsatsi</b> , day	<b>ma</b>	<b>ma<del>tatsi</del></b> , days
4th cl.	<b>se</b>	<b>sefate</b> , tree	<b>li</b>	<b>lifate</b> , trees
5th cl.	<b>n</b>	<b>nku</b> , sheep	<b>lin</b>	<b>linku</b> , sheep
6th cl.	<b>bo</b>	<b>bosiu</b> , night	<b>ma</b>	<b>masiu</b> , nights
7th cl.	<b>ho</b>	<b>ho ja</b> , to eat food		no plural

## REGULATIONS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF BASUTOLAND

(Enacted in 1884)

1. The Resident Commissioner is hereby empowered and authorised to hold a Court and to exercise jurisdiction in and adjudicate upon all causes, suits, and actions whatsoever, civil or criminal, within the said territory, such Court to be holden at such places within the said territory as the Resident Commissioner may from time to time appoint.

2. It shall be lawful for any Assistant Commissioner duly appointed for the said territory to hold a Court at such place or places as shall be fixed, and to exercise such jurisdiction as shall be defined in and by his commission.

3. Every Inspector of Police shall have jurisdiction in, and authority to adjudicate upon, such cases and matters as may be defined by any rules and regulations issued by the Resident Commissioner for the government and guidance of Police Forces within the said territory, in accordance with the provisions contained in such rules or regulations; and the Resident Commissioner is hereby empowered to make all such rules and regulations as aforesaid, as may to him appear necessary or expedient, and to alter, amend, or repeal the same as he may think fit.

4. It shall be lawful for any Native Chief in the said territory, appointed by the Resident Commissioner, to adjudicate upon and try such cases, criminal or civil, and to exercise jurisdiction in such manner and within such limits, as may be defined by any rules established by the authority of the Resident Commissioner, who is hereby empowered to make all such rules as may be necessary in that behalf, and to amend, alter, or cancel the same as he may think fit: Provided that no suit, action, or proceeding whatsoever to which any European shall be a party, either as plaintiff or complainant or as defendant, shall be adjudicated upon by any such Chief, save by the consent of all parties concerned.

5. The pleadings and proceedings of all Courts in the said territory shall be carried on, and the sentences, judgments, and orders thereof shall be pronounced, and declared, in open Court and not otherwise, and in all criminal cases the witnesses for and against the accused person or persons shall deliver their evidence *vice voce* and in the presence of the accused.

6. The rules, orders, and regulations respecting the manner and form of proceeding in civil and criminal cases before the Court of the Resident Commissioner or of any Assistant Commissioner shall, *mutatis mutandis*, and as far as the circumstances of the said territory will admit, be the same as those in force with respect to Courts of Resident Magistrates in the Cape Colony.

7. A tariff of fees to be taken by the officers of any of the Courts aforesaid, will be framed and notified by the Resident Commissioner, and fees shall thereupon be payable in accordance with such tariff. It shall be lawful for the Resident Commissioner to alter or amend such tariff from time to time as he may think fit.

8. It shall be lawful for any person, a party to any suit or proceeding before any Native Chief exercising jurisdiction under the provisions of section 4 of these regulations, to appeal from the decision of such Chief, in the first instance to a Court composed of an Assistant Commissioner and of such Chief, and in the event of their disagreeing, then the Resident Commissioner shall decide the matter in dispute : Provided that an appeal shall in any case lie from the decision of any such Court to the Resident Commissioner ; and provided, further, that in no case in which any European shall have agreed to submit himself to the jurisdiction of any such Native Chief as aforesaid, shall he have any right of appeal from the judgment or decision of any such Chief.

9. An appeal shall lie in all cases from any judgment or decision of any Assistant Commissioner or Inspector of Police to the Resident Commissioner.

10. All appeals shall be subject to such rules and conditions as the Resident Commissioner may, from time to time, prescribe.

11. The Resident Commissioner shall have full power and authority to review and correct the proceedings of all Courts

or officers in the said territory, in all cases and proceedings whatsoever.

12. In all suits, actions, or proceedings, civil or criminal, the law to be administered shall, as nearly as the circumstances of the country will permit, be the same as the law for the time being in force in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope : Provided, however, that in any suit, action, or proceeding in any Court, to which all the parties are natives, and in all suits, actions, or proceedings whatsoever, before any Native Chief exercising jurisdiction as aforesaid, native law may be administered ; and provided, further, that no Act passed after this date by the Parliament of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, shall be deemed to apply to the said territory.

13. It shall be lawful in any case to punish any offender by a sentence of confiscation of property. All confiscated property shall belong to Her Majesty : Provided, however, that it shall be lawful for the Court, pronouncing any sentence of confiscation of property, to adjudge that a portion of the property confiscated, or the proceeds thereof, shall be given to the party injured or aggrieved by the accused, and a portion, or the proceeds thereof, to any person on whose information the accused has been brought to justice, or who has materially assisted in bringing the accused to justice.

14. The punishment of whipping shall not be inflicted for any offence except rape.

15. Any person domiciled in Basutoland, who shall commit any offence in any place out of Basutoland, may be dealt with in Basutoland, in like manner as if such offence had been committed in Basutoland.

## OATHS, AFFIDAVITS, Etc.

1. The Resident Commissioner, and all Assistant Commissioners and Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors of Police, within the said territory, are authorised to administer oaths and take affidavits or solemn declarations in all cases where the same may be lawfully administered or taken.

## MARRIAGES

1. It shall not be lawful for any person to compel any woman to enter into a contract of marriage, or to marry against her wish.

2. Any marriage celebrated by any minister of the Christian religion according to the rites of the same, or by any civil marriage officer, duly appointed by the High Commissioner, to solemnize marriages, shall be taken to be in all respects as valid and binding, and to have the same effect upon the parties to the same and their issue and property as a marriage contracted under the marriage laws of the Cape Colony.

3. It shall be optional for any person, hereafter married according to the Basuto custom, to register the first of the said marriages at the office of the Resident Magistrate for the district in which such marriage was celebrated, or in the office of the Resident Magistrate in which the parties reside, and also, at the same time, to register the dowry or cattle (if any) given in consideration of any such marriage: Provided that such registration shall take place within one month after the celebration of such marriage.

4. A registration fee of two shillings and sixpence shall be payable for the purposes of Government for the registration of all marriages, whether celebrated according to the rites of the Christian religion, before a marriage officer as aforesaid, or according to the custom of the Basutos.

## HUT-TAX, POUNDS, PASSES

1. Every person shall be bound to pay to the Resident Commissioner or to some person nominated by him, for the purpose of the Government of Basutoland, a hut-tax at the rate of one pound per annum for every hut that may be erected for the occupation of a family.

2. In computing the liability of any person for payment of the hut-tax, it shall be held that payment at the rate of one pound per annum shall become due for each wife of any person residing on any lot, whether a separate hut shall be erected for the use of each such wife or not. The tax shall also be payable for every hut occupied by any unmarried men.

3. The hut-tax hereby declared to be payable shall become due on the 1st day of July in each year. But it shall be lawful for the High Commissioner, from time to time, to fix some other day on which the same shall become payable: Provided that not more than one such payment shall at any time be declared to be payable within twelve months.

4. The hut-tax declared to be payable may be paid by the same person liable for the same, either in money or in grain, or in stock, at the option of such person. The Resident Commissioner shall, in each year, fix the value at which such grain or stock shall be received.

5. A receipt for the amount of tax paid by each person, signed by the officer receiving the same, shall be delivered to the person paying.

6. Every resident of Basutoland leaving Basutoland shall be provided with a pass signed by the Resident Commissioner or by some person authorised by him to sign passes; and any such person leaving Basutoland without such a pass, shall upon conviction be liable to a fine not exceeding twenty shillings.

7. The Resident Commissioner is empowered to establish one or more pound or pounds in each district, and to appoint some fit and proper person to be poundmaster or keeper of every such pound, and it shall be competent for the Resident Commissioner to dismiss any such poundmaster or keeper. The Resident Commissioner shall frame a code of regulations for the management of such pounds, and publish the same for general information in the English, Dutch, and Sesuto languages.

#### TRADING REGULATIONS

1. No person shall be allowed to trade in Basutoland unless he shall first have obtained a licence for that purpose from the Resident Commissioner or an Assistant Commissioner.

2. Every such licence shall remain in force for the term stated therein, not exceeding in any case the term of twelve months from the date thereof.

3. Such licence may authorise the holder either to move from place to place for the purpose of his trade, or to establish some

fixed trading station at a place to be approved by the Resident Commissioner.

4. The Resident Commissioner will be at liberty, if he shall consider it necessary so to do, to refuse to issue any such licence on the original application, or to refuse to issue a fresh licence on the expiration of any preceding licence.

5. In any case in which the renewal of the licence shall be refused as aforesaid, and in any case in which a licence shall be forfeited, as hereinafter provided, the holder of such previous or forfeited licence shall be permitted at any time within three months (unless the same shall have become liable to seizure) to remove the materials of any building which he may have erected at his trading station, together with any movable property belonging to him, and failing such removal within the time appointed, such materials and property may be removed and sold by order of the Resident Commissioner, and the proceeds of such sale shall be applied, as far as may be necessary, to payment of all expenses incurred, and the balance shall be paid to the owner of the same. No claim to compensation for loss incurred by such removal will be admitted. But such trader will be allowed to continue trading to the end of the three months, on paying in advance at the beginning of each of these months the sum of one pound sterling.

6. For the purpose hereof the term "trading" shall be taken to include exchange or barter.

7. The sale or gift, or disposal in any way, of wine, beer, and spirituous liquors is strictly prohibited. Any person convicted thereof shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding the sum of twenty pounds sterling, and in case of a second or subsequent conviction shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding the sum of forty pounds sterling; and in the case of a holder of any trading licence he shall, whether upon a first or any subsequent conviction, be liable also to the forfeiture of his licence at the discretion of the Resident Commissioner; and all wine, beer, or spirituous liquors that may be found in the possession of the person convicted shall be forfeited. No wine, beer, or spirituous liquors shall be brought into Basutoland without the permission,



in writing, of the Resident Commissioner first had and obtained ; and if any person shall bring any wine, beer, or spirituous liquor into Basutoland, without having previously obtained the permission in writing above mentioned, such wine, beer, or spirituous liquor shall be forfeited, and every such person shall for every such offence be liable to a penalty not exceeding twenty pounds sterling.

8. Any person trading without a licence as mentioned in the first regulation, or after the expiration of the term for which it shall have been granted, or in violation of the conditions thereof, or after the same shall have been forfeited, shall be liable on conviction to a penalty not exceeding ten pounds sterling.

9. It shall be lawful for any police officer, or other person authorised thereto by the Resident Commissioner or Assistant Commissioner, at any time to demand the production by any person trading of his licence, and any such person refusing or failing to produce the same will be liable on conviction to a penalty not exceeding ten pounds sterling.

10. Any trading station, or premises, or wagon, or other vehicle used for the purposes of trade shall at all times be liable to the examination of any person thereto authorised in writing by the Resident Commissioner or by an Assistant Commissioner, and the owner or person in charge of any such station, premises, wagon, or vehicle who shall obstruct such examination shall be liable, on conviction, to a penalty not exceeding ten pounds sterling.

11. The amount payable for a trading licence shall be ten pounds for one year. All licences shall expire on the 31st December of each year. A licence taken out before the 30th June in any year shall be paid for at the full rate of an annual licence ; but if taken out after the 30th June, then only five pounds will be charged. All licences shall be paid for in full at the time of issue.

12. Any wagon or conveyance, being the property of or employed in the service of a trader holding a trading licence, will be allowed to pass freely between his residence and the boundaries of Basutoland by any of the regular wagon roads.

13. A hawker's or travelling trader's licence, without any vehicle or with only one vehicle, shall be paid for at the rate of one pound per month, or fraction of a month; for every vehicle exceeding one, an additional sum of one pound shall be paid.

14. All persons entering Basutoland with wagons for the purpose of purchasing corn from the licensed traders will obtain the necessary permits from the several Assistant Commissioners, or from the officers in charge of police stations, and on their return will produce a certificate from the trader of the quantity of corn sold by him, and in the event of the corn in the wagon being found to exceed that stated in the certificate, the surplus will be seized and forfeited, and the person in charge of the wagon shall be liable to a penalty of five shillings for each bushel of such surplus, and the wagon and corn may be detained until such penalty be paid.

15. No holder of a trading licence shall be allowed to keep at his trading station more than two hundred animals (horses, cattle, sheep, goats, and pigs included), whether they be his own property or that of some other person.

16. No transfer of any licence will be valid unless the same be executed in the presence of the Resident Commissioner, or an Assistant Commissioner or some person thereto authorised by such Resident Commissioner or Assistant Commissioner, nor unless the same be recorded by such Resident Commissioner, Assistant Commissioner, or other person, to whom the sum of two shillings and sixpence will be paid for the purpose of the Government for every such transfer.

17. All Basutos conveying grain of any kind out of the country for sale will be required to take a pass for each vehicle, and for each pack-horse, ox, cow, or bearer employed for that purpose, and the sum of two shillings and sixpence shall be paid for each pass for a vehicle, and threepence for each pack-horse, ox, cow, or bearer. All persons removing grain without such pass shall be liable to a fine not exceeding one pound sterling, and in default of payment to imprisonment for a period not exceeding one month.

18. No person shall deliver to any other person any gun or pistol, or any lock, stock, barrel, or other part of a gun or pistol, or any percussion caps, or any gunpowder or cartridges or any lead, without the written sanction of the Resident Commissioner or an Assistant Commissioner, under a penalty not exceeding five hundred pounds sterling, or under pain of imprisonment for any period not exceeding seven years. The Resident Commissioner or Assistant Commissioner shall not be bound to assign any reason for refusing to sanction any such delivery.

19. No gunpowder or cartridges, gun or pistol, or lock, stock, barrel, or any other part of any gun or pistol, and no percussion caps shall be brought into Basutoland without the permission in writing of the Resident Commissioner or of an Assistant Commissioner first had and obtained, and if any person shall bring any of the said articles into Basutoland, without having previously obtained the permission in writing above mentioned, such article or articles shall be forfeited to Her Majesty the Queen, and such person shall for every such offence be liable to a penalty not exceeding one hundred pounds sterling, or to imprisonment for any period not exceeding two years.

20. Any person applying for any such permission as aforesaid shall do so in writing, which writing shall set forth the place to which it is intended to take the articles described in such application, and no Assistant Commissioner shall grant any such permission as aforesaid to any person to bring any of the articles aforesaid into Basutoland until he shall have transmitted such written application with his report thereon to the Resident Commissioner, and shall have received the said Resident Commissioner's authority to grant the permission sought.

21. The standard weights and measures from time to time in use in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope shall be the standard weights and measures to be used in Basutoland.

22. Any penalties, imposed by these regulations, may be sued for before the Resident Commissioner or any Assistant Commissioner in Basutoland, and all such penalties may be recovered by the seizure and sale of any property belonging to the person convicted, and one-half of all the penalties recovered under these

regulations shall in each case be paid to the person on whose information the conviction shall have been obtained, and the balance shall be paid to Her Majesty for the use of the Government of Basutoland. Upon non-payment of any fine or penalty imposed by any regulation, the person liable to make payment thereof shall (where no other term of imprisonment is by law prescribed) be subject to be imprisoned with or without hard labour for any period not exceeding six months.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY ENACTMENT

1. It shall be lawful for the Resident Commissioner to associate with himself where it appears to him desirable so to do one or more European officers for the trial of civil and criminal cases. The Court so constituted to be called a Combined Court. Provided that in every case the judgment of such Court shall be the judgment pronounced or approved of by the Resident Commissioner.

2. In any case where any officer acting as Assistant Commissioner shall deem it desirable, he shall be at liberty to call to his assistance any such number of Assessors, not exceeding five, who shall be chosen by him from the Principal Chiefs, Councillors, or Headmen to aid him in the hearing of any trial with a view to the advantages derived from their observations. The opinion of such Assessors shall be given separately and discussed, and if any of the Assessors or Assistant Commissioner, or officer acting as Assistant Commissioner, desire it, the opinion of the Assessors shall be recorded in writing and form part of the proceedings forwarded for review ; but the finding of the Court shall be vested exclusively in the officer acting as Assistant Commissioner.

In like manner the Combined Court herein before provided for shall be at liberty to call to its assistance the Paramount Chief and such number of Assessors as the Resident Commissioner considers expedient.

3. No sentence of death shall be carried into effect without the warrant of the High Commissioner or acting High Commissioner authorising the same.

## CENSUS RETURNS

COMPARISON OF NATIVE CENSUS RETURNS FOR  
1891 AND 1904

Census Year.	Natives under 15.		Natives 15 and over.		Natives.		Grand Total.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
1891	57,126	54,998	48,080	58,120	105,205	113,119	218,324
1904	87,915	86,128	75,301	98,387	163,216	184,515	347,731

COMPARISON OF EUROPEAN AND COLOURED PERSONS  
IN CENSUS RETURNS FOR 1891 AND 1904

Census Year.	White.		Coloured.		Total Coloured.	Total White.
	M.	F.	M.	F.		
1891	343	235	103	77	180	578
1904	520	375	137	85	222	895

## RETURN OF STOCK, ETC., CENSUS, 1904 (NATIVE RETURN)

District.	Horses.	Cattle.	Ploughs.	Wagons.
Leribe . . . .	9,771	35,938	3,047	186
Berea . . . .	4,292	18,995	1,864	102
Maseru . . . .	11,416	42,162	2,276	284
Mafeteng . . . .	10,974	42,415	2,958	374
Mohales Hoek . . . .	9,101	31,265	2,229	249
Quthing . . . .	5,572	21,472	1,133	122
Qacha's Nek . . . .	12,551	17,636	881	3
	63,677	209,883	14,388	1,320

**CENSUS RETURNS—continued**  
**ECCLESIASTICAL RETURN**  
**CENSUS, 1904**

Mission.	Belonging to the Congregation.						Number of Communicants.						Total No. of Communicants.	Total No. Church will contain.	Average Congregations each Service on Sunday.	Baptisms.	Marriages.
	Euro-peans.			All others.			All others.			Total.							
	Euro-peans.		Total.	All others.		Total.	Euro-peans.		Total.	All others.		Total.					
	M.	F.		M.	F.		M.	F.		M.	F.						
P. E. M. S. . .	—	—	9,658	31,298	9,658	31,298	—	—	3,020	10,535	3,020	10,535	13,555	30,430	25,015	1,669	227
Church of England	149	140	988	2,106	1,137	2,246	44	74	526	1,081	570	1,155	1,725	3,283	2,066	363	44
A. M. E. . .	—	—	233	565	233	565	—	—	167	485	167	485	652	2,355	4,065	224	17
Roman Catholic .	20	43	1,766	3,872	1,786	3,915	17	39	1,008	2,562	1,025	2,601	3,626	5,600	3,870	917	102
7th Day Adventist	—	—	15	25	15	25	—	—	6	13	6	13	19	120	40	6	1

## METEOROLOGICAL RETURNS

MAXIMUM AND MINIMUM TEMPERATURE AT MASERU FOR  
EACH MONTH DURING THE YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1908

	Highest Temp.	Lowest Temp.	Mean.	Rainfall.
July 1907 . . .	70	16	43'2	'25
August . . .	81	15	38'16	nil
September . . .	88	27	56'26	1'73
October . . .	90	31	63'13	1'95
November . . .	97	37	64'7	4'53
December . . .	92	45	74'1	5'34
January 1908 . . .	99	40	73'	1'89
February . . .	94	50	73'21	1'47
March . . .	90	36	69'17	3'43
April . . .	80	26	52'15	1'25
May . . .	78	24	52'25	'22
June . . .	74	14	46'6	'93
Total . . .				22'99

## SUMMARY

MEANS OF ALL AUXILIARY CLIMATOLOGICAL STATIONS.—YEAR ENDED  
JUNE 30, 1908

Station.	Dry Bulb.	Wet Bulb.	Self-Registering Thermometers.							Dew Point.	Relative Humidity Sat. 100.	Rainfall.	
			Maximum.	Minimum.	Monthly Temperature.	Daily Range.	Absolute Maximum.	Absolute Minimum.	Monthly Range.			Amount Inches.	Days.
Butha-Buthe . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	36'02	80	
Leribe . . .	56'6	49'5	70'9	41'8	56'3	29'0	79'4	32'2	46'8	43'2	61'1	36'01	103
Teyateyaneng . . .	55'9	49'7	72'7	41'8	57'4	30'7	82'4	33'7	48'6	41'2	58'3	28'37	78
Maseru . . .	57'9	50'6	76'8	41'6	59'3	34'9	86'1	30'0	55'2	44'4	60'9	22'99	57
Morija . . .	61'9	57'9	74'2	46'7	60'4	27'5	83'6	38'0	46'5	54'1	77'0	33'30	99
Mafeteng . . .	50'1	53'2	71'6	42'4	57'1	28'8	73'5	31'6	49'2	48'5	67'2	23'14	77
Mohales Hoek . . .	57'7	50'2	70'8	40'0	55'3	30'6	79'8	29'3	50'5	43'0	58'2	28'30	69
Quthing . . .	58'0	49'8	74'9	42'0	58'4	32'7	86'2	31'7	54'3	43'3	58'1	35'97	76
Qacha's Nek . . .	51'4	45'1	70'5	25'5	48'0	44'0	80'5	16'2	64'3	38'5	60'3	42'53	110
Totals . . .	458'5	406'0	532'4	321'8	452'2	258'8	651'5	242'7	415'4	356'2	501'1	286'63	749
Means . . .	57'3	50'7	72'8	40'2	56'5	32'3	81'4	30'3	51'9	44'5	62'4	31'84	83

## DETAILS OF REVENUE FOR YEAR 1907-8

	£	s.	d.
Hut-Tax . . . . .	65,456	0	0
Licenses . . . . .	3,735	14	3
Fees of Court . . . . .	310	7	8
Post Office . . . . .	3,176	18	3
Miscellaneous . . . . .	1,479	16	7
Customs . . . . .	37,054	9	11
Interest . . . . .	5,316	5	2
Total . . . . .	£116,529	11	10

## DETAILS OF EXPENDITURE FOR YEAR 1907-8

	£	s.	d.
1. Establishments . . . . .	14,316	15	9
2. Police . . . . .	17,619	17	0
3. Post Office . . . . .	3,992	16	10
4. Allowances, Chiefs and Headmen, Percentage on Hut-Tax . . . . .	5,800	16	6
5. Medical Expenses . . . . .	349	3	7
6. Office Contingencies . . . . .	1,216	16	7
7. Revenue Services . . . . .	398	2	9
8. Administration of Justice . . . . .	223	7	6
9. Gaols . . . . .	1,916	13	6
10. Transport . . . . .	352	7	6
11. Public Works . . . . .	46,211	4	8 <sup>1</sup>
12. Hospitals . . . . .	7,518	7	3
13. Education . . . . .	11,962	1	4
14. Rewards for Special Services . . . . .	169	10	0
15. Audit . . . . .	241	3	10
16. Miscellaneous . . . . .	3,200	18	7
17. Agriculture . . . . .	10,527	6	3
18. National Council . . . . .	586	1	1
Total . . . . .	£126,603	10	6

<sup>1</sup> Includes a large sum drawn from capital for bridges and other major public works.



## IMPORTS AND EXPORTS

TABLE OF EXPORTS AND VALUE.—YEAR ENDED  
31ST DECEMBER, 1907

Articles.	Quantity in lbs. or number.	Value.
Live stock.	No.	£
Horses . . . . .	265	3,680
Cattle . . . . .	306	3,222
Sheep, goats . . . . .	26	16
All other (pigs, poultry, &c.) . . . . .	—	77
Corn, Grain, and Flour.	lbs.	
Kafir corn . . . . .	4,724,377	10,726
Maize . . . . .	36,116,994	73,468
Oats . . . . .	748,707	2,012
Wheat . . . . .	3,679,578	12,724
Flour (wheaten) . . . . .	142,705	868
All other . . . . .	633,445	2,083
Hair and Wool.		
Hair (Angora) . . . . .	825,448	32,963
Wool (sheep's) . . . . .	4,117,237	98,207
Hides and Skins.		
Hides (cattle) . . . . .	17,165	480
Skins (sheep and goats) . . . . .	108,458	2,188
Miscellaneous . . . . .	—	921
„ (imported goods), re-exported		4,906
Total . . . . .		<u>£248,541</u>

RETURN OF GOODS IMPORTED FOR THE YEAR ENDED  
31ST DECEMBER, 1907

Articles.	Value.
Animals (horses, cattle, sheep, &c.) . . . . .	£4,081
Apparel, slops, &c. . . . .	15,015
Bags of all sorts . . . . .	6,718
Beads of all sorts . . . . .	1,000
Cotton piece goods . . . . .	11,592
Cotton manufactures . . . . .	14,288
Food, drink (articles of) . . . . .	25,326
Haberdashery and millinery . . . . .	12,493
Hardware and cutlery, fencing material, &c. . . . .	7,391
Hats and caps . . . . .	1,375
Implements (agricultural) . . . . .	3,336
Leather and leather manufactures (including boots, shoes, and saddlery) . . . . .	17,293
Soap of all kinds . . . . .	3,918
Wood (manufactured and unmanufactured) . . . . .	4,680
Woollen manufactures (including blankets and shawls). . . . .	75,775
All other articles of merchandise . . . . .	30,803
Total imports of merchandise . . . . .	<u>235,084</u>
Articles for the use of Government . . . . .	3,515
Grand total . . . . .	<u>£238,599</u>

## SECRETARIES OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES FROM 1794 TO 1909

- 1794. Right Hon. Henry Dundas (afterwards Viscount Melville).
- 1801. Lord Hobart (afterwards Earl of Buckinghamshire).
- 1804. Earl (afterwards Marquess) Camden.
- 1805. Viscount Castlereagh (afterwards Marquess of Londonderry).
- 1806. Right Hon. W. Windham.
- 1807. Viscount Castlereagh (afterwards Marquess of Londonderry).
- 1809. Earl of Liverpool.
- 1812. Earl Bathurst.
- 1827. Right Hon. F. R. Robinson (afterwards Earl of Ripon).  
Right Hon. W. Huskisson.
- 1828. Right Hon. Sir George Murray.
- 1830. Viscount Goderich (afterwards Earl of Ripon).
- 1833. Right Hon. E. G. Stanley (afterwards Earl of Derby).
- 1834. Right Hon. Thomas Spring Rice (afterwards Lord Mont-  
eagle).  
Earl of Aberdeen.
- 1835. Right Hon. Chas. Grant (afterwards Lord Glenelg).
- 1839. Marquess of Normanby.  
Lord John Russell (afterwards Earl Russell).
- 1841. Lord Stanley (afterwards Earl of Derby).
- 1845. Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone.
- 1846. Earl Grey.
- 1852. Right Hon. Sir John S. Pakington, Bart. (afterwards  
Lord Hampton).
- 1852. Duke of Newcastle.
- 1854, June 10. Right Hon. Sir G. Grey, Bart.
- 1855, Feb. Right Hon. Sidney Herbert (afterwards Lord  
Herbert of Lea).  
May 15. Lord John Russell (afterwards Earl Russell,  
K.G., G.C.M.G.).  
July 21. Right Hon. Sir William Molesworth, Bart.  
Nov. 17. Right Hon. Henry Labouchere (afterwards  
Lord Taunton).

## Secretaries of State for the Colonies 675

- 1858, Feb. 26. Lord Stanley (afterwards Earl of Derby).  
 May 31. Right Hon. Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Bart.  
 (afterwards Lord Lytton, G.C.M.G.).
- 1859, June 18. Duke of Newcastle, K.G.
- 1864, April 4. Right Hon. Edward Cardwell (afterwards Vis-  
 count Cardwell).
- 1866, July 6. Earl of Carnarvon.
- 1867, March 8. Duke of Buckingham and Chandos.
- 1868, Dec. 10. Earl Granville, K.G.
- 1870, July 6. Earl of Kimberley, K.G.
- 1874, Feb. 21. Earl of Carnarvon.
- 1878, Feb. 4. Right Hon. Sir Michael E. Hicks-Beach, Bart.,  
 M.P. (afterwards Viscount St. Aldwyn).
- 1880, April 28. Earl of Kimberley, K.G.
- 1882, Dec. 16. Earl of Derby, K.G.
- 1885, June 24. Right Hon. Colonel Sir F. A. Stanley, G.C.B.  
 (afterwards Lord Stanley of Preston, now  
 Earl of Derby).
- 1886, Feb. 6. Earl Granville, K.G.  
 Aug. 3. Right Hon. Edward Stanhope, M.P.
- 1887, Jan. 14. Right Hon. Sir Henry Thurstan Holland, Bart.,  
 G.C.M.G., M.P. (created Baron Knutsford,  
 1888, and Viscount Knutsford, 1895).
- 1892, Aug. 17. The Marquess of Ripon, K.G.
- 1895, June 28. Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P.
- 1903, Oct. 9. Right Hon. Alfred Lyttelton, K.C., M.P.
- 1905, Dec. 11. The Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, K.G.,  
 G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
- 1908, — Right Hon. Earl of Crewe, K.G.

## GOVERNORS AND HIGH COMMISSIONERS OF THE CAPE<sup>1</sup> FROM 1795 TO 1909

1795.	General Craig.	1848.	Sir Harry Smith.
1797.	Lord Macartney.	1852.	Sir George Cathcart.
1799.	Sir G. Yonge.	1854.	Sir George Grey.
1807.	General Baird.	1862.	Sir Philip Wodehouse.
1808.	Lord Caledon.	1870.	Sir Henry Barkly.
1811.	Sir John Cradock.	1877.	Sir Bartle Frere.
1814.	Lord Charles Somerset.	1881.	Sir Hercules Robinson.
1828.	Sir Lowry Cole.	1889.	Sir Henry Loch.
1834.	Sir Benjamin D'Urban.	1895.	Sir Hercules Robinson.
1838.	Sir George Napier.	1897.	Sir Alfred Milner.
1844.	Sir Peregrine Maitland.	1905.	Earl of Selborne.
1847.	Sir Henry Pottinger.		

## GOVERNOR'S AGENTS AND RESIDENT COMMISSIONERS OF BASUTOLAND<sup>1</sup>

GOVERNOR'S AGENTS		1881.	Mr. J. M. Orpen.
1868.	Sir Walter Currie.	1883.	Captain Blyth.
	Mr. J. H. Bowker.		
1870.	Mr. W. H. Surmon.		
1871.	Colonel C. D. Griffith.	RESIDENT COMMISSIONERS	
1877.	Mr. J. H. Bowker.	1884.	Sir Marshal Clarke.
	Rev. E. S. Rolland.	1893.	Sir Godfrey Lagden
1879.	Colonel C. D. Griffith.	1902.	Mr. H. C. Sloley.

<sup>1</sup> Exclusive of acting appointments.

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS

- 1790. Escape of Godongwana.
- 1810. Death of Senzagakona.
- 1824. Death of Umpanganzita.
- 1828. Death of Tshaka.
- 1832. Moshesh goes to Thaba Bosigo.
- 1833. French Missionaries enter Basutoland.  
The Baralong go to Thaba Nchu.
- 1836. The Emigrant Boers trek towards Basutoland.
- 1843. The Napier Treaty.
- 1845. The Maitland Treaty.  
The first British Resident.
- 1848. Proclamation of the Sovereignty by Sir Harry Smith.  
Revolt of the Boers. Boomplaats.  
The first boundary.
- 1849. The Warden boundary.
- 1851. British defeat at Mekuatleng.  
Imperial control of Sovereignty.  
Assistant Commissioners Hogge and Owen arrive.
- 1852. Recall of Sir Harry Smith.  
Removal of Major Warden.  
Sir George Cathcart invades Basutoland.
- 1853. The Batlokoa destroyed.
- 1854. The Sovereignty abandoned.  
Convention between Her Majesty's Government and  
Orange Free State.
- 1855. Sir George Grey's Agreement.
- 1858. War between Free State and Basuto.  
Free State disaster at "The Hell."  
Sir George Grey's Treaty of Peace.
- 1859. Pretorius becomes President of the Orange Free State.
- 1860. Moshesh appeals for British protection.
- 1861. Sir George Grey recalled.
- 1864. The Wodehouse boundary for Basutoland.

- 1865. President Brand declares war against the Basuto.  
Ramanella invades Natal.  
The storming of Thaba Bosigo.  
The Transvaal declares war on Basutoland.
- 1866. Molapo cedes his country to Orange Free State.  
Brand makes a Treaty with Moshesh.  
Missionaries expelled from Basutoland.
- 1867. War breaks out again.  
Death of Poshudi : fall of Taantjesberg.
- 1868. Assault of the Qeme Mountain.  
Basutoland proclaimed a British Protectorate.
- 1869. The Convention of Aliwal North.
- 1870. Death of Moshesh.
- 1871. Basutoland annexed to Cape Colony.
- 1873. Langalibalele rebellion.
- 1878-9. Moirosi rebellion and war.
- 1880. Sir Bartle Frere proclaims Peace Preservation Act.  
Disarmament and the Gun War.
- 1881. Sir Hercules Robinson's Award.
- 1882. Disarmament Act repealed.  
General Gordon employed.
- 1883. Cape Colony relinquishes Basutoland.
- 1884. Imperial Government assumes control.
- 1885. Baralong territory annexed by Orange Free State.
- 1886. Masupha asks for a Magistrate.
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